













# THE ASHANTI WAR

## A NARRATIVE

PREPARED FROM THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS BY PERMISSION OF  
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GARNET WOLSELEY  
C.B. K.C.M.G.

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WITH MAPS AND PLANS COMPILED FROM THE STAFF-SURVEYS, REPORTS OF SPECIAL  
COMMISSIONERS TO NATIVE KINGS, AND OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCES

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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# THE ASHANTI WAR:

## A NARRATIVE.



### CHAPTER I.

THE MARCH TO PRAHSU—DESEATION OF CARRIERS—DIFFICULTIES OF  
TRANSPORT—DELAY OF THE EUROPEAN TROOPS, AND REDUCTION  
OF THE FIELD FORCE—NEGOTIATIONS.

ON Christmas-day the Major-General and the head-quarter staff dined together at Government House for the last time before the final departure for Coomassie; and on the 26th most of the staff proceeded in the afternoon to Inquabim.

The high spirits in which we were all starting were sadly dashed by news that reached us a few hours before our departure. The Simoom, returning to Cape Coast, brought us letters from Colonel M'Neill, saying that he, for whose return we had all hoped, found himself compelled to continue his voyage to England, and could scarcely hope in the condition of his wound to be with us again for any part of the campaign; and conveying to us the sad intelligence of the death of a comrade, whom we all mourned with an unfeigned sorrow. Alfred Charteris, the brightest, bravest, cheeriest of companions,



had paid the supreme price of his life for his longing to do a soldier's work. It was scarcely possible to believe that we should never see that handsome face again, or hear that merry laugh ; but the bright smile had for ever ceased, and the stalwart frame lay fathoms deep beneath the sea. Little by little he had grown weaker in those first days of weary work. The deadly climate had slowly laid hold upon its victim. Though one sign of weakness after another had shown itself, he never would give in ; and in the unspeakably exhausting march to Abrakrampa and Assanchi, at the end of October, he had been the first to offer to carry every message that was sent, the last to seek for rest. But premonitory symptoms of dysentery showed themselves immediately afterwards, and he was at once sent on board the Simoom. There he remained, weak, and yet not very ill, till the malarious poison he had absorbed broke out in fever ; and before the ship left Cape Coast we knew there was danger of his not rallying. Soon after her sailing, the fever attacked the brain, and on the 23d November he passed quietly away. Possessed of almost all that the world could offer, he had risked all to do a soldier's duty ; well knowing, before leaving England, how great in his case the risk was. And so he died, none the less "killed in action" because fever, and not a bullet, closed his bright career.

On the 27th the Major-General followed the staff, and overtook them at Accroful, leaving the Brigadier-General with his staff at Cape Coast to arrange for the intended landing of the European Brigade.

From Accroful we proceeded by the regular marches to Prahsu, the Major-General inspecting the various camping stations on the road. As we proceeded up country, the

climate unmistakably improved ; the air grew cooler, lighter, and less damp. As evening drew on there was often much mist and fog, more especially when we reached the swampy grounds on the northern side of Mansu. This we used to remedy by lighting fires in our huts, and a huge fire of logs was always kept burning near our mess-table. The nights were generally cold and clear, and the stars shone with unrivalled brilliancy. As morning came on the mist grew heavier, and in the forest the sun itself could not be seen for some time after its first rising for the dense blue fog that hung over all.

The country over which we marched to the Prah consists of a succession of hills and ravines, a typical portion being that between Yancoomassie Fanti and Mansu. Streams run in nearly all the ravines. We marched over granite, disintegrated on the surface, but none the less granite. In many places quantities of white quartz were to be seen ; and there were many streams which it was impossible to believe would not have yielded gold to the sifter of their sand.

When the first two stages from Cape Coast had been passed, we left the region of low bush, and entered into the primeval forest. For fifteen or twenty miles from the coast, the absence of the dense shade of the great forest-trees allows of the growth of many brilliant and beautiful flowers ; convolvuluses of almost every colour that can be imagined, from the darkest purple to the palest saffron ; passion-flowers ; brilliant scarlet spikes on a plant with foliage like a young plantain ; delicately scented mauve-coloured sweet-peas ; and rich large orange bell-shaped flowers upon a kind of tree-hibiscus. As we entered the great forest this profusion of flowers ceased, and we came upon the region of orchids and ferns. Unfortunately, and, be it

said, to the everlasting disgrace of the learned societies of London, we had no naturalist attached to the expedition. There was no botanist among our party, and science has lost an opportunity of recording and registering the wonderful beauties of this great primeval African forest,—beauties which at first strike the eye as almost marvellous in their grandeur, but which in time become more drearily monotonous, more oppressive to the spirits than words can possibly describe. Not one spark of colour ever lights up the endless green. Sometimes in the dismal swamps grand white lilies are to be seen, but nothing brighter ; never is there one gay hue.

To live from day to day always shut in by this dense wall of foliage on either side, always the same dark-green, always the same luxuriant growth of huge ferns, palms, and creepers interlaced and tangled in a thousand weird forms ; for days and weeks never catching a glimpse of a real horizon—always enclosed by these walls, which none the less imprison because they are of leaves and not of stone ;—to live thus palls upon the senses with a deadly and depressing weight.

Our morning marches were often commenced before the dawn, in the dead stillness of the night ; and it was strange to walk on in advance and hear the great forest wake. For an hour or so before dawn the most absolute stillness reigns ; but just before the first glimmer of light is perceptible, it appears as though everything commenced to move, and as if life existed where no sign of life is to be seen. Indescribable sounds, mysterious rustlings, are to be heard ; and if one listens intensely, it seems as though one could hear the very pulse of nature beating. Then with a rush comes the light, and with the light the noises become more distinct. They can be better separ-

ated and traced each to its origin, but still scarcely any animal life is to be seen—scarcely any definite sounds of animal life are to be observed. Parrots may be heard screaming, and flights of them may be seen between the tops of the gigantic trees, whose height sometimes reaches more than 200 feet, and whose girth round the buttresses of the roots often ranges from 50 to 90 feet. Rats may be seen scuttling across the road. Now and then, but rarely, a snake, bright green, or dull brown, according to the nature of the foliage or ground which he frequents, glides over the path. Millions of ants cross the road by paths which they attempt to conceal from an intrusive gaze by building up walls with their own bodies on either side. Scarcely ever is a bird to be seen, but the notes of some few are remarkable and conspicuous. One there is which makes a sound almost exactly resembling the drawing of a wet finger round the rim of a finger-glass, and now and then two of these may be heard together, their notes forming a perfect third. Another bird there is, whose whistle more than once misled us when the enemy were close at hand; but beyond this (and these birds when once away from the coast we hardly ever saw), there was seldom any other sound of bird-life. Guinea-fowls were heard now and then—rarely, also, the note of the jungle-fowl, but these we never saw. Of four-footed animals beyond the rats, not one living creature was ever seen by us on the whole road from Cape Coast to Coomassie, though there is no doubt that there are deer, leopards, wild hog, and monkeys in the forests south of the Prah. Whether the invasion of the Ashantis and the spread of their armed men foraging throughout the country had driven the animals away; whether it was that our road parties and the working of our labourers cutting bamboos

and palms had effectually disturbed them, cannot be told ; but as a fact we never saw one head of game, nor more than once or twice the trail of any quadruped.

Our rest was sometimes broken at night by the cries of wild animals ; one in particular, which is known as the bush-goat or the bush-hog, and of which Mr Winwood Reade shot a specimen, making a singularly obtrusive noise. It is a small animal little bigger than a rabbit, and with fur somewhat resembling the sloth, to which animal it closely assimilates in its movements. It has a pointed face and projecting front teeth. The natives, judging the animal, it is to be presumed, somewhat by their own character, say that it lives in the trees by day, and that when at night it comes down to the ground where it can only move very slowly, it makes a pitiful sound, very gentle and very low, as much as to say, "I am a poor wretched little animal that can't travel fast, and nobody ought to hurt me ;" but when towards morning it has climbed up a tree and got into safe position where nobody can reach it, then it curses everybody's father and mother. And certainly it does ; for, commencing with a comparatively low shriek, it squeals up the whole gamut, till at last it reaches a note which it is impossible to outsqueal. There were said to be hyænas in the forest, and we often heard from the natives of their existence ; but the writer, who has thousands of times heard their howls in India, never heard a hyæna during the whole of our march in West Africa. The howling of the bush-goat was probably taken for that of the hyæna. A proof of the absence of animals which live on carrion is the fact that we never found a dead body touched by animals, though they lay for days exposed to their attack.

Before leaving the subject of this march to Prahsu, it

may be stated that, just before leaving Cape Coast, a very bitter disappointment had been experienced by the officers of the headquarter staff. Within a few days of landing at Cape Coast we had been led to believe that it was quite possible that mules would thrive through the dry season, and a number of us had resolved to make the experiment. Accordingly we had sent money to her Majesty's Consul at Lisbon, and had requested him to purchase eight riding-mules, and send them to the Consul at Madeira, with whom we communicated, for transhipment to Cape Coast. At the same time the Major-General, hearing of our intention, and being desirous of getting some good mules, such as he knew could be procured at Lisbon, for the purpose of transport of ammunition, desired the Deputy-Controller to request the Consul at Lisbon to procure ten good pack-mules, and send them with the necessary forage, and trustworthy persons in charge, in a similar manner.

When we had experienced the fearful exertions caused in our early marches by the performance of staff duty on foot, it need scarcely be said that we looked forward to the arrival of these mules with an intensity of longing. We knew that the road to the Prah was so made that they could travel the whole journey, and we anticipated being able to take them a considerable distance beyond ; our disappointment, therefore, when, in the middle of December, we learnt that they were not coming, corresponded to our desire for their arrival. The story of the non-arrival of these mules is one which ought to be told. Our letters asking for the private riding-mules, and the Deputy-Controller's letter asking for the pack-mules, had been sent under cover to Mr Hayward, the Consul at Madeira, with a request that he would send them on to Lisbon by the

first opportunity ; and he was asked, both by the Deputy-Controller and ourselves, to do all in his power to forward the animals to Cape Coast on their arrival at Madeira. Mr Hayward, to whom we were all indebted for the utmost kindness and attention throughout the campaign, sent on our letters to Lisbon, as well as the official request to buy pack-mules ; but in the mean time a control officer had been sent by the War Office to Madeira for the purpose of making inquiries as to the resources of the island, and purchasing from 50 to 100 pack-oxen. He arrived at Madeira on the 13th November, and finding Mr Irvine's letter to the Consul at Lisbon still lying there, took it upon himself to purchase at Madeira the ten pack-mules ordered from Lisbon, and wrote to England and to Lisbon notifying his having done so. Now both horses and mules are notoriously very scarce, very bad, and very dear at Madeira ; and the control officer was only able to obtain nine mules in the whole island, of which about two were tolerably fit for work when they arrived at Cape Coast.

It was bad enough to have these nine wretched beasts foisted upon the expedition for transport purposes, instead of the ten fine pack-mules which might have been purchased at Lisbon ; but their purchase at Madeira led to a still worse result. The Consul at Lisbon received at the same time the request to purchase eight riding mules, and the order not to buy the ten pack-mules ; and on the 23d November, being in doubt as to the means of sending the riding-mules to Madeira, he telegraphed to the War Office, saying that he was instructed to purchase riding-mules for Sir Garnet Wolseley's staff, and asking whether any troop-ship would touch at Lisbon on her way to the Coast, in which case he requested authority to ship the mules in her. Had the War Office simply replied that

no troop-ship would touch at Lisbon, the mules could have been sent to St Vincent, and thence in the Simoom, or one of the many ships constantly moving between St Vincent and the Gold Coast. But the War Office, apparently mixing up the pack-mules and the private riding-mules, replied by telegram, "No troop or store ship will touch at Lisbon—you need not buy the mules in question; they will be bought in Madeira." Alas! Madeira had only been able to furnish nine wretched animals, which could not by any possible stretch of imagination be considered as riding-mules for headquarter staff; and thus all our visions of being properly mounted were destroyed, and we saw before us the same endless toil of weary marching on foot.

On the very day, however, the 26th December, on which we left Cape Coast, H.M.S. Amethyst, which had been sent at the Major-General's request to the island of Ascension to purchase there all the mules and oxen that could be spared, arrived at Cape Coast bringing a few mules of rather a better type. Two of these were taken by the headquarter staff, and two others were handed over to the Brigadier-General and his staff. Eight mules altogether marched with the headquarters to the Prah; many of the staff much preferred walking to riding them, so rough were they and so slow. Yet they did us good service, and we owe to them a certain saving from fatigue, which doubtless contributed to preserve us from collapsing.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, whose old wound rendered it dangerous for him to walk, was drawn the whole way to the Prah in a light American buggy, which was found at Cape Coast Castle on our arrival; a good proof of the satisfactory work which our engineers had done upon the



road. The buggy was left at Prahsu ; and for the rest of the march, except at those frequent times when the nature of the road or the proximity of the enemy rendered it necessary that he should walk, the Major-General travelled in a wicker Madeira chair fixed between bamboos, and carried on the heads of natives in the same manner as a hammock.

On the 2d January the Major-General arrived at Prahsu, and found already established there in garrison Wood's regiment of foot to the number of 'about 450 ; Russell's regiment to the number of 500 ; Rait's artillery to the number of 50, with 3 7-pounders and 2 4½-inch howitzers, a Gatling gun, and 6 rocket-troughs ; together with a detachment of 70 of the 2d West India Regiment.

A great deal of work had already been done towards the formation of the camp, which was to be completed and ready for the European troops on the 15th January. A very large space had been cleared by the exertions of men of Wood's and Russell's regiments ; and Major Home, assisted by Captain Buckle, had already got in hand a good deal of the necessary building. The camp at Prahsu was to be constructed, according to the Major-General's orders, for a force of 2000 Europeans. Already before our arrival a row of excellent huts had been built for the Major-General and the staff on the high bank overlooking the river flowing some thirty feet below. Between these huts and the edge of the bank was a terrace, the view from which, if not quite rivalling Richmond, was yet not without peculiar beauties of its own.

For the first time since leaving Cape Coast we again knew what it was to breathe fresh air. The large clearing to the south, and the wide river—more than sixty yards wide, and flowing with a current of from two to

three miles an hour—on the north, gave us space to draw breath; though still, except up and down the river, where we could see for 500 yards in each direction, our horizon was bounded at short distances by endless belts of trees. Already the framework of many of the huts for the European troops was complete. The huts for the Naval Brigade were finished, and a peculiarity of their construction which added much to the rapidity of building, as well as to their comfort, ought not to be left without mention. The sides were formed of old sails, so arranged that they could be drawn up or let down at pleasure. By drawing them up completely, free circulation of air was obtained; and on the other hand, by letting them down, the malarious night air and the rain were kept out. The large Control store was already erected, and a magazine capable of containing 420,000 rounds.

To the west of the great open clearing for the European Brigade were encamped the Engineers and Rait's artillery, Major Rait having built a battery for his guns overlooking the river just at the point where a ramp had been cut down to the intended bridge. Beyond this were the lines of Russell's regiment, orderly and well cared for to an extent that only ceased to be surprising when one remembered who the officers of the regiment were; and beyond these, again, away towards the bend of the river, the lines of Wood's regiment, with the officers' huts installed on the bank of the river under the pleasant shade of the forest-trees. On the other side of the great clearing, and beyond the huts intended for the Naval Brigade, were the lines of the 2d West India Regiment.

Even where the ground had been cleared for the en-

campment of troops, some of the great forest-trees had been left ; and the camp altogether, though not perhaps so well laid out as it might have been with a view to sanitary arrangements, was excellently designed for its purpose.

In the days intervening between the arrival of the Sarmatian, with the third European battalion and the Brigadier-General on board, orders had been issued for the movement of the troops to the front on landing. The Naval Brigade was to land and commence its march on the 27th December. The 2d West India Regiment was to leave Mansu on the 30th December and march to the Prah. This date was subsequently altered to the 1st January. On the 31st December, the first reserve of small-arm ammunition was to be despatched from Cape Coast Castle. On the 1st January, the first detachment of regular troops was to land and march, reaching the Prah on the 8th. The last detachment was to land and march on the 6th January, and to reach the Prah on the 13th. All the regular regiments were to be landed, and the 1st West India Regiment on its arrival was to be distributed between Cape Coast Castle and Elmina, and be ready at all times to take the field. The regular troops were to land by half-battalions, the hour named being 4.30 A.M. ; and the detachments of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers were to land and march with one of the half-battalions. The regimental baggage was in every case to be landed the day before the landing of the half-battalion to which it belonged, and it was to be stored in the castle in the mean time. The order of landing the troops was to be arranged by the Brigadier-General in command of the European Brigade.

Two hundred of the 2d West India Regiment were to

remain at Prahsu, and occupy the bridge-head, which was to be constructed on the north side of the river. It was intended that a detachment of the Royal Artillery should also remain stationary at the Prah. The manœuvring army for operations on the north bank of the Prah was to be as under :—

	EUROPEANS. All ranks, including Officers.
3 battalions of English troops, . . . . .	2040
Naval Brigade, . . . . .	265
Royal Artillery, . . . . .	35
Royal Engineers, . . . . .	50
Rait's Artillery, . . . . .	9
1st Reserve, small-arm ammunition, . . . . .	7
2d West India Regiment, . . . . .	14
Russell's Regiment, . . . . .	12
Wood's Regiment, . . . . .	12
Headquarter and other Staff, including Depart- mental Officers, . . . . .	60
Total drawing European scale of rations, . . . . .	2504
	NATIVES.
2d West India Regiment, . . . . .	200
Rait's Artillery, . . . . .	50
Wood's and Russell's Regiment, . . . . .	800
Total drawing native levy rations, . . . . .	1050

It will be observed that the 2d West India Regiment is shown in this return as drawing the rations of native levies, and not those of the European troops. An arrangement had been made by the Major-General, with the full consent and approval of the officers and men of the regiment, that the men, instead of drawing European rations, to which they are entitled, should draw the native levy ration, and receive, in addition, the sum of 9d. a-day. As a matter of fact, the soldiers of the West India Regiments

never used all their rations, but sold a large portion of them, and there had always been a regular trade in this both at Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. The Major-General being well aware of this, and being of course desirous of reducing to the utmost extent the amount of transport required, caused a calculation to be made as to the relative cost of European and native rations at Prahsu, including the cost of transport to that place, and it was proved that the value of the European ration at Prahsu was 2s. 5½d., and that of the native levy ration only 9d. Thus, then, on giving to the West Indian soldier 9d. in addition to the native levy ration, with which he was well pleased, there was a clear gain of 11½d. per diem to the State for each man; and in case of an advance beyond Prahsu, this gain would be considerably increased.

The arrangement of the order of landing the European troops had been left to the Brigadier-General by the original memorandum; but as the S.S. Dromedary containing the short rifles was known to be so slow a traveller that her arrival could scarcely be expected before New-Year's Day, the Major-General, by a memorandum dated 26th December, desired the Brigadier-General to land the Rifle Brigade before the other battalions, owing to its being already equipped with the short rifle. The order of landing the two other battalions was not interfered with, and the Brigadier-General decided to land the troops, left in front, in the following order:—

Rifle Brigade.  
42d Highlanders.  
23d Fusiliers.

On the 27th December, however, when the Major-

General was at Accroful, the Sarmatian arrived at Cape Coast with the 42d; and the Brigadier telegraphed (the telegraph being now open as far as Accroful) that epidemic erysipelas had broken out on board, and that one death had occurred. The Major-General, after a consultation with the surgeon attached to the headquarter staff, wrote back ordering a careful medical inspection of the men, and desired the healthy men to be transferred from the Sarmatian to another ship, suggesting the Manitoban. Dr Woolfreys, the principal medical officer, at once inspected the ship, and found that the first case of erysipelas had occurred on the 20th, terminating in death; and that three other cases had followed: these latter, however, were all convalescent; the hospital of the ship had been fumigated; these patients had been removed; the troops were perfectly healthy, and no case of erysipelas had occurred since the 24th. The principal medical officer therefore did not think it necessary to transfer the 42d Regiment to the Manitoban, but recommended as a precautionary measure that it should be the first to disembark; and that should any other case of erysipelas occur before the 1st of January, it should be disembarked at once. The Brigadier-General upon this decided to disembark the 42d before the other regiments, and to send the troops up in the following order: 1st, 42d Highlanders; 2d, Rifle Brigade and detachment Royal Engineers; and 3d, 23d Fusiliers and detachment Royal Artillery. As no fresh cases of erysipelas, however, appeared in the 42d Regiment before the 1st January, Sir Archibald Alison determined to adhere to the original arrangement, and to land the troops in the order first proposed—namely, Rifle Brigade, 42d Highlanders, and

23d Fusiliers. At Major Home's request, the detachment of Royal Engineers was to be landed with the first party. The Dromedary arrived on the night of the 30th, and the short rifles and sword-bayonets were issued on the 31st to the Fusiliers and Highlanders. \*

The Naval Brigade disembarked as ordered on the 27th December, and marched by the ordinary stages to Prahsu, arriving on the 3d January. Not one man was left behind on the road.

The disembarkation of the regular troops commenced on the 1st January, very early in the morning. At 1.45 A.M. the first man got into the boats from the Himalaya; at 3.20 the last man marched from the beach; and by 6.35 the whole of the troops and baggage had arrived at Inquabim, not a man of the Rifle Brigade having fallen out, and only one of the detachment of Royal Engineers—the sergeant-major—who was affected with heat-apoplexy, and immediately invalided home. The Brigadier reported that nothing could exceed the perfection of the naval arrangements for the disembarkation; and nothing could be more perfect than the quiet order and regularity with which the disembarkation was carried out by the troops—company after company being marched off without a sound. The regimental carriers, too, mustered remarkably well, and did not give the slightest trouble on the march. Thus, in succession, the Rifle Brigade and the 42d disembarked. Before speaking of the 23d, it will be necessary to go back a little, and touch once more on the question of transport.

A regular system of regimental transport had been arranged on the following scale :—

*For each Battalion of English Infantry, 30 Officers; 650 N.-C.  
Officers and Rank and File.*

550 men, at 1 carrier to every 3 men, . . . . .	217
30 officers, at 1 carrier to each officer, . . . . .	30
30 officers, at 1 carrier to every 3 officers for cooking-pots, .	10
Tentes d'abri for officers, . . . . .	4
Regimental reserve of S.A. ammunition, at 50 rounds per man for 580 men, . . . . .	70
For 82 camp-kettles, 10 by 1 carrier, each cooking for 8 men,	9
For regimental orderly-room and quartermaster's office, .	2
For 40 cots, at 6 men to each, . . . . .	240
Orderlies for 2 medical officers, . . . . .	6
Head-men, 1 per 25 carriers, 3 spare, . . . . .	28
	<hr/>
	616
Spare to meet casualties, . . . . .	38
	<hr/>
	654

*Scale of Tentes d'abri.*

For every 3 non-commissioned officers and men, included in kit, . . . . .	1
Commanding officer, . . . . .	1
2 majors, . . . . .	1
2 surgeons, . . . . .	1
Adjutant and orderly-room, . . . . .	1
24 officers, . . . . .	12

*For Wood's Regiment—16 Officers, 5 Native Officers, 431 Men.*

21 officers, . . . . .	21 carriers.
16 English officers' cooking-pots, . . . . .	6 "
5 native officers' cooking-pots, . . . . .	2 "
12 tentes d'abri, . . . . .	3 "
Regimental reserve S.A.A., . . . . .	51 "
13 cots, . . . . .	78 "
Regimental orderly-room, . . . . .	1 "
Medical officers' orderlies, . . . . .	3 "
Spare, . . . . .	10 "
Head-men, 2 spare, . . . . .	9 "
	<hr/>
	184 "
Spare, . . . . .	22 "
	<hr/>
	206 "

*Russell's Regiment same scale.*



The total number of carriers required by the force to march northwards from the river Prah, without provisions, but carrying regimental reserve of fifty rounds of S.A. ammunition per man, amounted, upon this scale—the lowest which could with safety be admitted—to more than 3500 men. In addition to these 3500, there would be required the station carriers, estimated by Colonel Colley at 5000, divided equally between the north and south banks of the Prah, to carry up supplies of food and ammunition, and to carry back the sick and wounded; and it must not be forgotten that all these carriers would themselves have to be fed. If, then, any portion of this transport should fail—if station transport should break down, or if regimental transport should break down—there was but one way of meeting the difficulty,—to reduce the manœuvring force.

On the 27th December, by the Major-General's desire, Colonel Colley had taken over the management of the tribes from Colonel Festing, and held a meeting of the kings and chiefs. He inquired into the causes of desertions, and any complaints they had to bring forward, promised them that the tribes should in future be kept as distinct as possible, and directed the kings to take up their residence at those stations at which he proposed to concentrate their several tribes. As the march on the Prah was to commence so soon, the organisation of regimental transport had occupied his immediate attention, and officers had been told off to organise the transport for the different bodies of troops, as detailed in Colonel Colley's memorandum of 23d December.

On the 29th, when the headquarters passed through Mansu, although many desertions had begun to take place, Colonel Colley, expecting large detachments from the

Agoonah and Acoomfie countries, to which, be it remembered, the Major-General had long before sent officers as commissioners to collect carriers, was still sanguine of being able to carry out the original programme; and on the 30th he proceeded to Cape Coast to see the regimental transport completed. The transport of the headquarters and Naval Brigade was but small in quantity, and was provided easily. The Rifle Brigade drew its transport from Cape Coast, chiefly Ahanta and Elmina men. The transport for the 42d, chiefly Goomoahs, was brought down from Mansu; and these two regiments started without any difficulty. But between the 31st December and 3d January, reports were received by Colonel Colley of the desertion of the bulk of the Adjumacoes; that the Acoomfies had dispersed even before they reached the road; and that the Agoonahs, 500 in number, had deserted after one trip—one half without waiting for their pay, the other half immediately after receiving it. There remained only the transports absolutely required to maintain the flow of supplies to the front. Colonel Colley therefore reported to the Brigadier-General at Cape Coast, on the 3d January, to the effect that desertions seemed general at all the stations; that at Mansu, tribes, hitherto trustworthy, were commencing to desert, and that the Engineer labourers were deserting all along the line; that he could only muster 450 men at Dunquah, even by taking away the whole of the local transport, and thus absolutely stopping the movement of supplies to the front; and that emissaries had been detected inducing the men to desert. The Brigadier-General at once, on his own account, suspended the disembarkation of the second half-battalion of the 23d and the Royal Artillery, and telegraphed to Colonel Colley that he would not push

on the first half-battalion if it would in any way endanger the progress of the other regiments already on their way, or the supply of the force at Prah-su.

On receipt of these reports at Prah-su, action was at once taken by the Major-General. Orders were immediately sent down to Cape Coast to stop the disembarkation of the 23d Regiment, and arrangements were made to employ the 1st and 2d West India Regiments and Wood's Regiment as carriers as a temporary measure. The Naval Kroomen also, 150 in number, were sent back to Mansu for loads. Russell's Regiment could not be so employed, as it was required to lead the advance at once into the enemy's country.

This question of transport had now evidently become very serious. Unless the desertion of carriers could be stopped, the march to Coomassie could never be undertaken; and, under any circumstances, so large a force of Europeans as originally contemplated must now be abandoned. Every mouth to be fed must now be considered; and not one single European with whom it was possible to dispense, could under these circumstances be brought to the front. Already at this date it was perfectly evident that the amount of supplies which the Deputy-Controller had undertaken to have at Prah-su by the 15th January, could not be there; and it became a matter for serious consideration, whether, if the force originally proposed were to be brought up to the Prah, the stock of supplies there would not diminish day by day rather than increase. Under these circumstances the Major-General took the decided step of at once ordering the 23d Regiment and the detachment of Royal Artillery to re-embark on board the ships. Had he been able to march into the enemy's country with three battalions, he

would, as his previous despatches have shown, have been only too glad to do so. Had he been able to take with him a force of European artillery, he would have been only too glad to do so ; but the interests of the expedition must first be considered, and it must either be abandoned or carried out with fewer troops. The 23d Regiment had happened to be the last disembarked ; the fortune of war therefore made them the first troops to re-embark. The disembarkation of the detachment of Royal Artillery under any circumstances was rather a stretch of the Major-General's promise to the Secretary of State for War, proposed out of desire to employ the men in the front. The Major-General had promised that he would not land one man more than he considered absolutely necessary for the success of his expedition ; and it could not be said that this half-battery of Royal Artillery was thus necessary. Captain Rait's Houssa battery had been, since the despatch of the demand for 60 gunners, organised, and brought to such admirable condition, that, with a certain number of European officers and non-commissioned officers, it might safely be trusted to work in the field a sufficient number of guns and rocket-troughs for the force to be employed. An additional force of European gunners could only have been used in working an additional number of guns ; and taking more guns to the front would have involved a great deal of additional transport for ammunition, as well as the extra food for so many Europeans. Moreover, the Houssas had one great advantage over the European gunners ; it was an entirely unsolved problem what the Fanti carriers with the artillery would do if it came to a hard fight. Should they desert, the Houssas could carry the guns, as they had done already on several occasions, Captain

Rait having made it an essential part of their drill ; but it would have been impossible for Europeans to carry the guns ; and under these conditions the Royal Artillery had to share a like fate to the 23d and re-embark.

The first half-battalion of the 23d Regiment had proceeded as far as Accroful before they received instructions to return to re-embark, and at Inquabim the goat of the regiment had died, his first day on shore being apparently too much for his constitution. It was ultimately arranged that the 23d should not be left unrepresented in Ashanti, and accordingly the headquarters and 100 men of the regiment were ordered to march to the front, commencing their march on the 15th ; and in their place 100 of the 42d Regiment, selected as being men the least likely to bear the fatigues of the campaign, were, with a proportionate number of officers, re-embarked on board ship.

At the same time that the 23d Fusiliers were ordered to re-embark, the 42d Highlanders were ordered to halt at Yancoomassie Fanti and Mansu, while their regimental carriers were to work at the general orders of Colonel Colley, between such places as he might prefer ; and on the following day, the 7th January, the Rifle Brigade were ordered to halt at Yancoomassie Assin and Barraco, until such time as we were ready for them, their carriers also to be employed in bringing up provisions. Calculations were made as to the exact gain of halting these regiments, and it appeared roughly that for every day's march of an European battalion some sixty additional carriers were required, and that to keep up the daily supply for one European battalion at Prahsu from Cape Coast, between 400 and 500 carriers were required on the road.

By halting the 42d at Mansu instead of bringing them up to the Prah, while the depot at the Prah was being filled, the labour of nearly 250 carriers per day was saved, and, in addition, the regimental carriers became available on that part of the road where the block was greatest.

The officers commanding both the 1st and 2d West India Regiments responded frankly to the Major-General's call upon their men to act as carriers; but the men of these regiments were not so capable of doing work as the Fantis, and the work done by them did not on the whole reach a very great amount. In a few days the Major-General withdrew them from this work, and they reverted to their duty as soldiers.\*

The soldiers of the 42d Regiment also volunteered to carry loads, in order to help the transport; and one or two journeys were made. But the Major-General immediately put a stop to this; for the work, being utterly beyond the strength of Europeans in such a climate, would soon have rendered the troops unfit for the task that lay before them.

On the 4th January, Colonel Colley thus summed up the situation: "Three different kinds of transport have to be provided for;—the regimental transport, to accompany the regiments to the front—the local transport, to forward supplies and stores from the rear—and the medical transport, required to serve the hos-

\* The 1st West India Regiment were dressed in grey tweed clothes, like those of the white troops, which had been sent out for them from England on receipt of the Major-General's despatch, written after the action at Essaman, wherein he reported the dress of the West Indian regiments as utterly unfitted for bush-fighting; and one of the quaintest sights ever seen was that of the West Indian soldiers carrying loads on their heads with their helmets on the top of the loads. They were, however, very proud of their dress, and called themselves the black Europeans.

pital stations, recommended by the principal medical officer; the latter, however, also used in pushing stores to the front. After careful calculation, I estimated that the maximum amount of transport that could under any circumstances be required to maintain the force destined to cross the Prah intact at Coomassie would be about 8500 men, supplemented by perhaps 500 women from the Coast. But that assuming the troops not to make a prolonged stay there, and making allowance for casualties, 7500 men would be amply sufficient. Of these about 3500 would be required for regimental transport; 2000 assisted by Cape Coast and Annamaboe women to maintain the communications between Cape Coast and the Prah, and serve the hospitals; and the remaining 2000, after being employed in forming the great depot of thirty days' supplies at the Prah, could be brought to the front gradually, as the troops advance, and form fresh depots between that and Coomassie.

"At the time I took over the transport its numbers were estimated at between 5000 and 6000; and hopes were held out by the various special-service officers of largely supplementing this. But it was already evident that no reliance could be placed on a large portion of the transport. Some, indeed, consisted of tribes lying in or near our actual line of operations, who had thrown in their lot with us, and worked well and faithfully—bringing their families, and settling down at our camps. But a great part consisted of tribes from a distance, who, after being collected with great trouble by the special-service officers sent among them, desert as soon as they find the service distasteful. Thus the Adjumacoes, at one time furnishing over 900 men, have twice deserted *en masse*. The Agoonahs, of whom nearly 800 had been collected, dwindled to

less than 400 when they reached this (Cape Coast); and of these the whole deserted after their first day's work—some before, some after, receiving their pay. The same applies to the Acoomfies, with a small exception. Sickness also has been so considerable that at one time the discharges at Mansu alone averaged 120 a-week. The whole force has thus been reduced to a little under 4000 men, besides about 1200 women and children, working principally from Annamaboe and Cape Coast.

“Under these circumstances, I have only been able to make from day to day the dispositions necessary to meet the exigencies of the moment.

“My arrangements regarding regimental transport have been repeatedly altered in consequence of the non-appearance or desertion of the tribes intended for it. At present the transport of the Rifle Brigade has been furnished from the Cape Coast and Elmina tribes; that of the 42d from the Goomoahs, who almost alone of the distant tribes have not deserted *en masse*; and that of the 23d Fusiliers by absolutely denuding this place of local transport, and from the Abrahs and others whom I wished to leave here. My intention is still to endeavour to collect the tribes at special stations; the Cape Coast men, and especially the women at Cape Coast, maintaining the supply to this station; the Abrahs here working to Mansu; the Annamaboes at Mansu, their women working from the coast up, and the men forward; and the Assins near the Prah; sending the distant tribes, if collected, across the Prah, whence they will be afraid to desert.”

Up to this time the Major-General had never used force to compel the natives to work, though the law passed at the Judicial Assessor's Court at Beulah enabled him legally to do so. When, however, at the end of Decem-



ber, desertion commenced with unexampled rapidity, the chief magistrate recommended the enforcement of that law ; and the Major-General requested him to enforce it with the utmost rigour. Colonel Colley also considered that the means hitherto taken would not now be sufficient, pointing out that desertion was now the normal condition of the tribes.

“The conditions of good treatment and regular pay,” he wrote, “will doubtless do much to retain them, but, after all, are insufficient to make men do the unavoidably severe work of the transport, who are naturally careless, and to whom money is no very strong temptation. The present system is to them a game of hide-and-sceek. If we do find the men again, they perhaps get punished, and do a few turns of duty, and are prepared to desert again ; if we don’t find them—and it is every day becoming more difficult to do so—the fun of the game is altogether on their side, while our officers are being used up for nothing.”

He suggested that the villages to which the men had deserted should be burnt, and the women and children be employed as carriers. To this the Major-General assented, provided the consent of the chiefs of the tribes was obtained.

These steps had become necessary in the interest of the Fantis themselves. Without transport the campaign must fail ; and failure in this campaign, and the withdrawal of the European troops from the Coast, without having first inflicted a severe chastisement upon the King of Ashanti, would involve to an absolute certainty the speedy return of an Ashanti army, and the enslavement of the whole Fanti nation to that most terrible, bloodthirsty, and despotic rule. For their own sakes, now

that the campaign had gone thus far, it was an absolute necessity that it should be carried out to the end successfully. The kings and the chiefs saw this ; they recognised the necessity ; they were urgent in their demands for permission to behead the men who ran away, and had no hesitation whatever in giving authority for the most severe measures to be taken in regard to the carriers who deserted ; and as regards making women and children carry, nearly every woman and child in Cape Coast had voluntarily carried loads between Dunquah and Mansu for the sake of the pay offered by the control there. They are accustomed to carry burdens from their earliest childhood, and there is no cruelty whatever in using them as carriers, so long as the loads are proportioned to their strength.

The Brigadier-General, immediately on receipt of Colonel Colley's report, took most stringent measures at Cape Coast. After consulting with the judge, the colonial secretary, the commandant of the garrison, and the chief of police, he ordered a cordon of troops to be placed around the town, and the town itself to be thoroughly searched by the police for deserters, or other persons not legally exempt from taking their part as carriers. A large number of men were in possession of exemptions, as they were the workmen of the merchants of the place ; and Sir Archibald Alison now called a meeting of the merchants, and asked them to give up temporarily these exempted men. They at once acceded to the request, and it was arranged that these men should only be employed between Cape Coast and Dunquah. It was also arranged to stop whatever public works were going on, and by these means some 270 carriers were obtained.

The search made by the police, although carefully carried out, only brought in about 40 men. The natives are wonderfully successful in concealing themselves when they want to get out of the way ; the roofs of the houses form their favourite hiding-places ; and, under any circumstances, the formation of the native houses, which have a number of doors and small courts, would enable a man knowing his ground to dodge a policeman for an indefinite time. On the 5th January there was sufficient transport to have furnished regimental carriers for the 23d and the detachment of Royal Artillery ; but if these had been thus employed, the transport upon the road would have been reduced below the amount necessary to carry up the supplies of food : in short, to put the matter plainly, if the 23d and the Royal Artillery had, under the present conditions of transport, been landed and advanced to the front, the required depot of stores at Prahsu could never by any possibility have been formed ; and accordingly, as already explained, the Major-General decided that these troops must re-embark on board ship.

The Brigadier-General, remaining at Cape Coast, continued to take most active measures for the collection of carriers. The colonial secretary proceeded to Accra for men, but returned without success ; no labour whatever could be procured there, Captain Glover having absorbed it all. A vessel sent to the Gambia had returned with only fifty men ; and it appeared evident that our dependence must after all be almost exclusively on the Fanti tribes. The Brigadier-General now raised the allowance in lieu of rations from 3d. to 6d. a-day for each carrier, and employed native agents to communicate with the kings and chiefs, offering them £50 for every 500 able-bodied men whom they would bring into the field and keep there,

while the kings themselves were to have £10 a-month for every 100 men, and £6 a-month for every 100 women. Sir Archibald Alison also took steps to supply corn instead of rice as food for the carriers. There is no doubt that these latter found rice comparatively distasteful. They are not accustomed to it, the food which they like being plantains and cankey, which is made of pulverised Indian corn. He also took steps to "drive" for carriers in the surrounding villages. Beulah and Napoleon were searched, but with scarcely any success, though they were surrounded. Elmina also was "driven." The chief magistrate, Mr Marshall, proceeded to Dunquah, and reported thence that he was convinced the question of the nature of food had something to do with the desertion of the carriers, recommending that markets for the sale of cankey should be set up at as many of the stations as possible; but at the same time he wrote—"The main cause, however, of the wholesale desertion is simply the idle disposition of the natives; they hate work, and seldom do any—and to go suddenly in for carrying loads is too much for their feelings, patriotic or otherwise. The enemy being over the Prah must also be a great inducement to their retiring habits." The chief magistrate rendered invaluable services at Dunquah, as Captain Lees had done at Cape Coast: both of these gentlemen threw themselves heart and soul into the cause of the expedition, and worked with a zeal and an energy above all praise. At Dunquah, as at Elmina and Saltpond, and other places, proclamation was made by the Major-General's order, that unless the native chiefs came forward to assist the army with carriers, the expedition would be withdrawn, and the tribes would be left to the mercy of the Ashantis. They were told that the Major-General had suspended the dis-

embarkation of the European troops, and was beginning to re-embark those already landed, and that unless they exerted themselves to the utmost, he would re-embark his whole force. There is no doubt that the downward movement of the 23d from Accroful, coming on the top of this proclamation, exerted a very considerable effect. On the morning of the 12th this wing of the 23d re-embarked in good health.

It will be unnecessary to recapitulate in detail all the steps taken to procure carriers, of whom considerable numbers were now arriving from the Apollonian coast, procured by the exertions of Dr Gouldsbury. One or two points must, however, be mentioned. The Wesleyan Mission contributed 150 women and girls to carry loads. Captain Bromhead, who had formerly been commissioner to the King of Abrah, was again sent to Abrakrampa, and succeeded in collecting some hundreds of men of the Abrah tribe. A "drive" at Moree by Captain Russell, A.D.C., met with considerable success, and produced 164 men. Lieutenant Bolton, acting with his usual energy, sent in great numbers of men from the Goomoah and other neighbouring districts. The chief magistrate held courts at Dunquah, and Prince Sam, the Chief of Abrah, together with one Nakoh of the same tribe, who had been caught preaching disaffection among the carriers, were imprisoned and tried by him; as were other deserters, on some of whom he passed sentence of death. The extreme penalty of the law was not, however, in any case inflicted; but the delinquents were kept under sentence until the expedition was over.

Colonel Colley received in the course of the first weeks of January large additions to the force of officers under his command; and at one time or other the following officers were

serving under him : Major Maclean, Rifle Brigade ; Captain Duncan, Royal Artillery ; Lieutenant Vandermeulen, 50th Regiment ; Captain North, 47th Regiment ; Captain Sams, 64th Regiment ; Lieutenant Aldridge, 95th Regiment ; Lieutenant Jerrard, 8th Regiment ; Lieutenant Cooper, 47th Regiment ; Lieutenant Macarthy, 4th Regiment ; Lieutenant Clark, 29th Regiment ; Captain Despard, Royal Marines ; Lieutenant Bolton, 1st West India Regiment ; Lieutenant Gordon, Sussex Artillery Militia, late 28th Regiment ; Captain Player, late Inniskilling Dragoons ; Lieutenant Hearle, Royal Marines ; Lieutenant Graves, late 1st West India Regiment ; Captain Fowler, 2d West India Regiment ; Captain Briscoe, late 14th Regiment ; Lieutenant Auchenleck, 21st Regiment ; Lieutenant Hilcoat of the 1st Somerset Militia ; Captain Farquhar, late 15th Regiment ; Lieutenant Hornby, Royal Navy ; Captain Giles, Dublin Militia ; and the following Officers of the Control Department : Commissary O'Connor, Assistant-Commissary Elliot and Fitzstubbs, Sub-Assistant Commissaries Beardmore, Gore, Nugent, and Gabbett. But the severe work told rapidly on the health of these officers. Five of the original sixteen were invalided within a month ; and their sickness generally was such that the number of transport officers available only averaged sixteen, or about one to 500 men. No European non-commissioned officers were available. Every little detail of supervision and payment thus fell on the officers, as it had done with all the commissioners to native tribes throughout the war.

Colonel Colley had not left to others alone the task of procuring carriers. On the 7th January, scarcely recovered from an attack of fever, he had started from Dunquah in the evening with three officers and twenty

police; had halted for the night at Domonassie, collected all the men of the village, and hustled King Solomon. Hence he had travelled through the Anyan and Adjumacoe countries. He had found them rich and populous, the villages close together, and the bush intersected with paths. Plantations of Indian corn, yam, and plantain abounded, and cocoa-nut palm grew everywhere. The buildings were more comfortable, and of a different type to those which had been seen at the coast, and the people, living in thorough comfort, determinedly shirked work. Some he succeeded in collecting, and he was convinced that if stronger measures were taken, numbers of carriers might be obtained in that district. The Agoonah tribe, it will be remembered, had deserted *en masse* some days before, and had subsequently ill-treated messengers who had been sent to them. Colonel Colley therefore determined to make a signal example at this place; and after a ten-mile night-march, surrounded and entirely surprised before daylight the village in which the messengers had been ill-treated, burnt the village, and fined the king £10 for not having brought the offenders to justice. Within twenty-four hours every town within ten miles had paraded all its men under its chiefs, and sent them in to Colonel Colley;—pretty clear evidence of what is the right way of dealing with the West African native.

Colonel Colley beat up villages at all hours during several days, to show the people how unsafe their life of supposed ease would be, brought on to Dunquah about 700 carriers, and arranged for nearly as many to follow. The three chief deserting tribes had been the Adjumacoes, Agoonahs, and Acoomfies. Lieutenant Gordon, Sussex Artillery Militia, was ordered to occupy the principal villages of the Acoomfie district with a company of

the 1st West Indian Regiment, and compel the men to return to work. Captain Briscoe was sent to visit some Agoonah villages, and Captain Sams to beat up the outlying Adjumacoes. Lieutenant Cooper returned to Dunquah with Colonel Colley. Colonel Colley reported that the Agoonahs were not a strong people, and that they complained of the excessive weight of the kegs of salt meat, which weighed over 70 lb.\*

\* The following table, compiled by Commissary Ravenscroft, shows the net and gross weight, and the number of packages, for 1000 European rations :—

*Statement showing net and gross weight, and number of packages, for 1000 European rations.*

No. of Rations.	Description.	Weight, net lb.	No. of Packages.	Weight, gross lb.	No. of Carriers.	Weight of Packages.
1000	Biscuit	1250	25 bags	1287½	25	1 bag, 1½ lb.
500	Salt Meat	750	15 kegs	1200	15	1 keg, 30 lb.
500	Preserved Meat	500	14 cases	819	14	1 case, 22½ lb.
400	Rice	50	1 case	63½	1	1 case, 13½ lb.
300	Preserved Potato	75	1 tin	93	2	1 tin, 18 lb.
300	Preserved Peas	38	1 keg	54	1	1 keg, 16 lb.
1000	Tea	47	1½ chest	72	1	1½ chest, 25 lb.
1000	Sugar	188	5 barrels	216	5	1 barrel, 16 lb.
1000	Pepper	1, 12 oz.	} 1 keg	52	1	1 keg, 11½ lb.
1000	Salt	32				
		2931, 12 oz.		3857	65	

It will be seen by this table what a waste of labour there was in the carriage of dead weight. In the sixty-five loads, containing 1000 rations of the various articles, there were 925 lb. of dead weight, or an average of 14½ lb. a load, while each load of meat had a dead weight of from 25 to 30 lb.

There is no doubt that the weight of some of these loads was too great for the carriers. The bag of rice, 63½ lb., was about the maximum weight which they could be expected to carry for a continuance, and there is very little doubt that the excessive burden of the kegs of salt meat was the cause of the unwillingness of some of the carriers to continue in our service.



On the 15th of January, Colonel Colley was able to report his hope that, unless desertions should again reduce the numbers—and he was now more sanguine that these desertions would not take place—the transport difficulty was overcome. He had on this date, available as local transport, the following carriers, exclusive of those attached to regiments :—

Cape Coast,	.	.	.	.	.	500 women
Annamaboe,	.	.	.	.	.	500 „
Dunquah,	.	.	.	1500 men.		250 „
Mansu,	.	.	.	1600	„	
Yancoomassie,	.	.	.	450	„	
Barraco,	.	.	.	350	„	
Prahsu,	.	.	.	300	„	
<hr/>						
4200 „						1250 „

and he expected from 500 to 800 more within three days. Dunquah was already cleared of its stores, and its transport was to work back to Cape Coast. Mansu, he said, should be cleared in five days; and he would at once send large reinforcements to Yancoomassie, Assin, and Barraco. The carriers now at his command were 2000 in excess of the numbers estimated as necessary to maintain communication with Prahsu. After the thirty days' supply had been collected at the Prah, and making liberal allowance for casualties, Colonel Colley hoped by the 22d January to have 1500 carriers ready to commence fresh depots and transport stages to the front, and was already organising this transport by tribes under special-service officers. A day or two later he reported 4300 men and 1600 women on the road, besides regimental transport. He counted on bringing 4500 loads

to Prahsu by the 21st, and was bringing on the 1500 carriers for transport beyond the Prah, besides the regimental transport. The depot at Prahsu was now rapidly approaching its required fulness, and it was decided that the passage of the Prah by the European troops might safely commence on the 20th of January—a measure rendered most desirable, as the long halt was beginning sensibly to tell on the health of the European troops.

Before leaving this question of transport, it is necessary to make some remarks upon the criticisms passed on the conduct of the Major-General at this time by certain persons who, very wise after the fact, complained that the Major-General had not taken these severe measures sooner, and that the organisation of the transport had not been earlier undertaken.

To these criticisms the answer is most simple. The organisation of the transport could not have been undertaken sooner, and there was no necessity for these severe measures until the desertions occurred. The transport could not be organised sooner, for the simple reason that there were no officers to organise it, beyond that very limited number of control officers who, as we have already said, were hopelessly overworked, and in whose hands it failed. As soon as Colonel Colley arrived, the transport was taken in hand by him; and the rules of the service were departed from in order to place at the disposal of the Deputy-Controller every available special-service combatant officer for purposes of transport. These officers did not land in any numbers until after the Major-General had left for the Prah, and their services were utilised by Colonel Colley to the utmost possible extent. Secondly,

it was not till the end of December that the desertion of carriers occurred to such an extent as to be at all alarming; and even if it had occurred sooner, the steps which were ultimately taken to render its occurrence impossible, and to bring in the deserters, could not then have been taken for want of officers to conduct the operations. No spasmodic efforts would have been of the slightest use; and it was only when the transport was put altogether into the hands of an officer of ability and rank with a considerable staff under him, that a systematic method of dealing with these desertions could be established.

One other point also remains to be noticed. Great efforts were made to assign the desertion of the carriers to cruelty on the part of the officers, and want of proper and sufficient food.

The chief magistrate most carefully inquired into this question, and thus wrote to the Major-General from Dunquah on the 8th of January, when the desertion was at its highest, and when he had had every opportunity of inquiring from the natives themselves, and from their chiefs: "I strongly dissent from this cry of cruelty being the cause of wholesale desertion. That there have been unnecessary knocks and blows both by white officers, and still more by native overseers, I do not doubt; but that any such brutal treatment has taken place as would occasion these enormous desertions is, I am sure, impossible, or we must have known of it; whereas no definite accusation has been made at all. The subsistence question has, I think, more foundation. Numbers of carriers have been kept waiting for hours for their subsistence money, and of course get hungry. I know this has been the case at Cape Coast, and I find it has been the same

here, *not* from any fault of officers, but because they are so few it is impossible to pay faster. Here they have sometimes been left in arrear altogether; then there has been a change of officers, and the new one refused to recognise arrears before his taking charge. The rice question is also a difficulty, as it is not the food of the people here. The merchants when with Sir A. Alison told him the quantity allowed was  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. less than they gave their Kroo boys who do live on it, and that the overseers who distribute the rations for them diminish the quantity. This may account for some rational discontent, and it would, I feel sure, be well to meet it if possible. The flogging case brought forward by Mr —— did occur, but was compensated by the real offender being soundly flogged by those whom he got punished, and they were highly pleased. Still a great deal may be made out at home by complaints like this. I have met the cruelty question as far as I can by calling for proofs, but none have come. The simple fact is, these natives hate work, and are quite unaccustomed to it, and to go on carrying from day to day is more than they can stand. Now that the Ashantis are across the Prah they think the danger over, and wish to return to their villages, where their women will work for them. While they are on the road carrying, I am sure kind treatment is the best, and sufficient food; but as to *collecting* them, I see nothing for it but the coercive measures which are now being put in force."

Colonel Colley's letter containing the satisfactory information that the transport was in such a condition that he could supply Prahsu, and provide 1500 carriers at that point in a day or two for the forwarding of supplies and

ammunition beyond the Prah, was received on the 16th ; but already on the 12th orders had been issued for the 42d to march on the 18th January, and the Rifle Brigade on the 19th, towards Prahsu. By these orders the Rifle Brigade would reach Prahsu on the 19th and 20th, and the 42d on the 21st and 22d ; the headquarters and detachment of the 23d would reach Prahsu with the last detachment of the 42d. In consequence, however, of a report from Barraco to the effect that some cases of dysentery had occurred amongst the wing of the Rifle Brigade at that station, the headquarters of the battalion and this wing were ordered to march to Prahsu on the 17th. No alteration was made in the other moves ordered.

The movements north of the Prah will be detailed in the next chapter. The headquarter staff and the first European troops crossed the Prah on the 20th, and it remains now to relate the events which had taken place at headquarters during the halt at Prahsu from the 2d January to that date.

Within an hour of the Major-General's arrival at Prahsu, news was brought in from the outposts on the other bank that nine Ashanti messengers were on their way to the camp with letters from the king to the Major-General. Captain Buller at once proceeded across the river and brought the party in under escort, and they were temporarily lodged in one of the Naval Brigade huts, under a guard of West Indian soldiers. The party consisted of Sein Quaku, a court crier, with another messenger, Quaranchia Safoh, a servant of Mr Dawson named Robert, and eight scouts and carriers. They brought two letters from the King of Ashanti to the Governor, and a number

of other letters from Mr Dawson to various persons at Cape Coast. The messengers wished to deliver the letters in person to the General, but were told that his Excellency could see no one except the king himself, or a prince of royal blood.

Before giving the contents of the two letters, it is necessary to state that on the 1st November Sir Garnet Wolseley had despatched an Ashanti prisoner captured at Assanchi with a letter to King Koffee. This messenger, in order that he might be impressed with a sense of the immense power of the white man, had been sent on a traction-engine some part of the road to Dunquah; but it is to be feared that the impression was not quite equal to the design, for the engine broke down at the foot of the first hill, and the rest of the journey had to be performed on foot. The letter was as follows:—

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE COAST,  
*November 1, 1873.*

“KING,—This bearer is one of your soldiers I captured at Assanchi. I have released him in order that he should carry this letter to your Majesty.

“Some days ago I sent two copies of the enclosed letter, dated October 1873, to Amanquatia's camp, hoping he would send it on to Coomassie; but as he is now nearly surrounded by my troops, I am not certain that he has done so. I therefore now send you another copy, and desire to call your serious attention to its contents, and to remind you of the dangers to which you expose yourself and your kingdom if you fail to comply with my demands.

“My white troops are being constantly augmented in

numbers from England, and our recent successes over your army will have proved to you that your soldiers cannot contend against white men in the bush.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) “G. J. WOLSELEY,  
Administrator of the Gold Coast,  
and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty’s West  
African Army.

“His Majesty Koffee Kallalli,  
King of Ashanti, Coomassie.”

The two following letters were now received from the king :—

“KUMASSI, *November 25, 1873.*

“SIR,—Your honour’s letters by the man captured at Assanchi, bearing the dates October 13th and 1st instant, I have safely received, and have the contents read and interpreted correctly to me. It is true that there exists such treaty as your honour refer between my predecessor and late Governor McClean. Being aware of it, and having no palaver with white men, my good friends, I only directed my General Amanquatia against the black men, who are my own slaves, and now refuse to serve me. I was incited to take this step by the message Attah, *alias* Mr Henry Plange, brought to me, ‘that in four months’ time the Administrator-in-Chief was to take my power away for Kwarkefram,’ the King of Denkera. Of course I could not bear to hear this, and I therefore sent to fetch him, Kwarkefram. But since I heard his death, which has pacified me, and heard that my armies were proceeding to attack the forts, I immediately sent, about twenty days ago, ere your honour’s letters reached me, one of my captains, ‘Busummuru Intekura’ by name, to call back Amanquatia, forbidding his attacks upon the forts, as that would incur the displeasure of you, my

good friend. Respecting the detention of your honour's messenger, Mr Dawson, and the Europeans, it is because my captain who brought them disapproved my sending them to the coast ere the money is sent. If, therefore, your honour would send it as early as you can by the return of the bearers of this, Mr Dawson will be allowed to start directly with them.

(Signed) "KOFI KAREKAREE, his X mark.

By the Linguists,

KOFI BUAKI, his X mark.

AKOSSI APPIA, his X mark.

YAW NANKWI, his X mark.

Witnesses to the signatures :

(Signed) FR. RAMSEYER.

M. G. BONNAT.

His Honour Colonel Harley, C.B.,  
Administrator of her Majesty's Forts and  
Settlements on the Gold Coast."

"KUMASSI, *December 26, 1873.*

"MY GOOD FRIEND,—Your honour by this will find that my letter dated 24th ultimo had been returned back again to Coomassie. The cause of this is the attack made upon my army on their way back, when I had ordered, by your honour's desire, their return home, and thereby killed all their sick men, and took away all their property. Especially finding in that at Fosoo one of your honour's officers among them, whose hammock and provisions my men took after defeating them. This, of course, pains me very much, as I did not foresee a trick in it; and also having written your honour to acquaint you with my having no war with white men, but the black people. However, considering your honour as my good friend still, I send one of my court criers, Essen Kuaku, and another man, Kudjo Fodwin, to accompany one of Mr



Dawson's men, Assradu, to ask your honour's answer to my first letter, respecting the giving me back Assins and Denkeras, and at the same time for some explanation for these last attacks upon my people. I beg to say that I have given them only fourteen days to perform their journey in and out.—We are, &c.,

(For King Kofi Kalkaree),

Linguists,

(Signed) "YAW NANTWI, his X mark.  
KOFI BUAKI, his X mark.  
VINESE APPEA, his X mark.  
KWABINA AMFRUENSA, his X mark.

"His Honour Colonel R. W. Harley, C.B., Administrator,  
&c. &c. &c."

The first of these letters puts forward the grievance which the king had already spoken of in his letter to Colonel Harley of the previous March—namely, the alleged assertion of Plange that the king's power was to be taken away from him and given to the King of Denkera; but the king in this letter declares himself pacified on this score, in consequence of the death of Quaki Fram who had been succeeded by Quasi Kaye. In this first letter it will also be observed that the king drops the subject of his claim to the Assins, Denkeras, &c., and declares that on hearing of Quaki Fram's death, he had sent to call back Amanquatia, forbidding him to carry out his intention of attacking the forts; but the king renews his demand for money to be sent to Coomassie before the release of the European prisoners.

The second letter, dated a month later, and only a week old on the date of its receipt at Prahsu, is really a distinct defiance. The king complains that after he had ordered his troops to return home, they had been attacked at Fay-

sowah by the Fanti troops ; he declares that in this action his army had been victorious ; he renews his demand for the Assins and Denkeras, and demands an explanation for these attacks upon his people.

Nothing could be clearer than that the king was completely in the dark as to the real facts, or else that he was deliberately falsifying them. Inasmuch, however, as it was well known that no one dare tell bad news to the King of Ashanti, it was almost certain that he had been kept completely in ignorance of the attack made by Amanquatia on Elmina, of the subsequent attack upon Abrakrampa, and the repulse consequent thereupon, and that the affair at Faysowah had been recounted to him as a great victory on the part of the Ashantis ; the broken hammock and the contents of Lieut. Woodgate's box having been taken to him as proofs of the victory. Under these circumstances, the Major-General decided upon informing the king of what had really taken place south of the Prah, and putting before him in plain language what were the terms upon which his offences could be forgiven, a lasting peace entered into, and free intercourse with the coast admitted. At the same time Sir Garnet Wolseley determined to show unmistakably to the messengers intrusted with the delivery of his letter that he was in earnest in his intention to compel compliance with his terms. Accordingly the messengers were detained until some white troops should reach the Prah and could be pushed across it, and until the bridge across the river could be completed.

On the morning of the 3d January the Naval Brigade arrived in the camp from Cape Coast, having marched up without the loss of a man on the road. 17 officers, 163 seamen, 45 marines, and 192 Kroomen had landed at

Cape Coast on the 27th December, and they all marched into Prahsu on the 3d January, bringing in also from Barraco, in addition, 5 officers, 20 seamen, and 23 marines of the original party who had been landed at the end of November. They were a splendid body of men, picked from the whole squadron, and looked fit to go anywhere, and to do anything. On their arrival they were formed up in line, and the Ashanti envoys were marched past them from the hut which they had now to vacate to an empty hut on the opposite side of the square. On the following day a little practice with the Gatling was held for the benefit of the Ashanti envoys, Captain Rait firing a drum of ammunition up the stream, where the accuracy and force with which the bullet struck the water, at a range of some 500 yards, was shown by the fountain of spray that was thrown up. The well-bred native envoys looked coolly on, and seemed but little surprised. But the view of the Gatling was destined yet to bear fruit.

At 1 o'clock on the morning of the 5th we were awakened by a shot fired in the hut where the Ashantis were under guard, and on visiting the hut it was found that one of the scouts had put the muzzle of his gun to his throat, and, pulling the trigger with his toe, had blown his brains out. It was a strange and ghastly sight, the dead man lying on the guard bed with his brains scattered on the side wall, shown by the lantern light. At first the other messengers expressed ignorance as to the cause of the act, but a court of inquiry was held on the 5th, and witnesses were examined. One of the Ashantis then said that the dead man, Quamina Owoosoo by name, had expressed his opinion that all the scouts were going to be killed, and only the messenger allowed to return, and had conse-

quently blown out his brains. Sein Quaku, the messenger, spoke to the same effect, and it appeared that they had all been more or less surprised and astonished at the firing of the Gatling ; and that this man, being of rather a cowardly nature, had determined to destroy himself. The other messengers were all convinced that he had committed suicide, and indeed the position of the gun, as found by the sentry who entered the hut immediately after it was fired, left no doubt on the matter. The Ashanti envoys wanted to carry away the corpse back to Coomassie, but permission to do this was refused, as it would have involved retaining the body for at least 30 hours in camp. It was, however, buried on the north bank of the Prah, and the Ashantis were allowed to be present at the burial, when, following the custom of their country, they all threw earth upon the remains. A copy of the proceedings of the court of inquiry was forwarded by the messengers to the king, with Sir Garnet Wolseley's letter ; but when Mr Dawson and the messengers proposed to read it to him, he seemed a good deal surprised that so much trouble had been taken to explain the death of a common man, and would not listen to the proceedings of the court, saying, " What does it all matter ? the man is dead, and there's an end of it."

On the morning of the 6th, the bridge being finished, the envoys were sent over the river with the following letter addressed to the king. In order that there might be no doubt on the king's mind as to the actual presence of the Governor himself at the Prah, the letter was sealed with the seal of the Gold Coast, and written upon the stamped paper on which former letters from Cape Coast had been addressed :—

“Major-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George, Administrator of her Majesty’s Forts and Possessions on the Gold Coast, and Commander of her Majesty’s Forces in the West African Settlements, to his Majesty Koffee Kalkalli, King of Ashanti, at Coomassie, greeting :

“CAMP, PRAHSU, *January 2, 1874.*

“KING,—I have to-day received your Majesty’s two letters of the 25th November and 26th December 1873. These are addressed to Colonel Harley, though written in answer to a letter from me, in which I had told you that her Majesty the Queen of England had sent me as her General to command her troops on the West Coast of Africa, and also to be Administrator of the Gold Coast Settlements.

“I must therefore inform you, that immediately upon my arrival Colonel Harley left Cape Coast Castle for England, and that I am the Queen’s representative here.

“2. In my letter of 13th October 1873, which has been read and interpreted to your Majesty, I stated the terms upon which her Majesty the Queen of England would be prepared to enter again into friendly relations with your Government. They were as follows :—

“(1.) That within a named time you should withdraw all your forces from all the territories of her Majesty’s allies.

“(2.) That you should deliver up all men, women, and children whom you have captured from every tribe and people at present in alliance with her Majesty.

“(3.) That you should give guarantees for ample compensation to all whom you have injured.

“Your Majesty has not complied with these terms.

“3. Your Majesty acknowledges the treaty made between Governor Maclean and one of your predecessors in the year 1831, in which the King of Ashanti renounced all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, and others, formerly his subjects. Notwithstanding this, I find that you speak of the people of this country, who are allies of the Queen of England, as “your own slaves,” and that you ask me for an answer regarding your demand to have the Assins and Denkeras given back to your authority.

“I must therefore inform you that Queen Victoria considers herself, as well as you, bound by the terms of Governor Maclean’s treaty, and that under no circumstances whatever can I entertain your proposal, or give you back the tribes for whom you ask.

“4. Your Majesty says that a message was delivered to you by Mr Henry Plange, that ‘in four months’ time the Administrator-in-Chief was to take your power away for Kwarkefram.’ I have to inform your Majesty that no such message was ever sent to you, and that Mr Plange, if he said this, spoke falsely.

“5. Your Majesty states that you sent to recall your army before my letter reached you, forbidding Amanquatia to attack our forts. But your army did attack Elmina, and was completely defeated. I have also to inform you that very soon after my arrival I wrote to Amanquatia, and sent him a letter for your Majesty, which he acknowledged and answered, saying that he had no quarrel with the white man. Nevertheless, after he had thus written, he attacked the town of Abra-krampa, where my white soldiers were.

“6. In your Majesty’s letter of 26th December, you say that your former letter was returned to Coomassie

owing to an attack made upon your army on its way home at Faisoo, and that this attack pains you very much. Your Majesty must understand that Amanquatia having attacked my troops at Abrakrampa for two days, after he had received my letters addressed both to you and himself, I could only believe that your Majesty was desirous of continuing the war. I determined, therefore, to drive your army behind the river Prah, which I have done.

“7. I do not think your captains have told you the truth regarding the events which have taken place in this country since my arrival, and I believe they have concealed from your Majesty the numerous defeats they have experienced from small bodies of the troops under my command. When Amanquatia attacked Abrakrampa there were only fifty white men there; yet, after two days' fighting, he was forced to retreat in confusion with great loss; and many of your war-drums, chiefs' chairs, and other military trophies, besides much baggage, were captured by my troops.

“As regards the attack upon your retreating army at Faisoo, it was made only by a small party of my undrilled black troops, who were ordered to fall back as soon as they found where your army was; yet it caused the whole of the Ashanti army to retreat in the utmost haste and confusion, leaving their dead and dying everywhere along the path.

“8. The detention of the messengers sent by the Cape Coast authorities to your court is contrary to the laws of all civilised nations; and as regards the white people now held as prisoners at Coomassie, I have to remind your Majesty that they are not either English soldiers or English officials, but strangers, who were treacherously

seized by one of your chiefs in the territory of a king in alliance with the Crown of England, at a time when there was peace between England and Ashanti. Their friends had arranged to pay you a sum of money claimed by this chief for expenses; but whilst the affair was being arranged, your army invaded these territories of her Majesty's allies, slaying and carrying off into slavery their inhabitants, and laying waste the country on every side.

"9. For these crimes committed by your army the Queen of England has sent me as her General to demand reparation; and she has also lately sent a large force of her white troops, to render all resistance on your part hopeless.

"I wish to impress upon your Majesty that hitherto your soldiers have only had to fight against black men, helped by a few Englishmen. If, however, you should now be so ill-advised as to continue this war, your troops will have to meet an army of white soldiers.

"These white troops are now on their march from Cape Coast for the purpose of invading your territory to enforce compliance with my just demands, which I shall presently lay before you; and I warn you that I intend to invade your country by the Wassaw road, the Prahsu-Assin road, the Prahsu-Akim road, and the road leading from Bagoro in Eastern Akim direct to Juabin and Coomassie.

"10. The Queen of England has placed ample forces at my disposal to crush the Ashanti nation; but, as I told you in my previous letter, she is as patient as she is strong.

"Her Majesty is desirous that a permanent peace should be established between her subjects and the



Ashantis. She is desirous to promote in every way free intercourse between your people and the towns of Elmina and Cape Coast Castle, and all the other towns under her protection, with a view to the promotion of trade between the two nations, and the establishment of a lasting peace between them.

“11. Your Majesty is completely in error if you believe that the Queen’s object in obtaining possession of the Dutch forts was to cut you off from communication with the coast. She wishes that when your subjects come as peaceful traders, every protection should be afforded to them ; and when peace is finally established, she will do all in her power to prevent all hindrance to trade between the two nations.

“12. Her Majesty is still willing to believe that you have been deceived by designing people, as in the case of the fictitious message said to have been delivered to your Majesty by Mr Plange. She is anxious to avoid shedding more Ashanti blood, knowing how your army has already suffered. Yet she cannot submit to leave without redress such violent aggression as that lately perpetrated by your army upon her allies, at a time when you were professing to be engaged in friendly negotiations with the British authorities.

“13. I shall therefore be prepared to make a lasting peace with you upon the following terms :—

“(1.) That you deliver up forthwith all the persons, both European and African, that you have wrongfully detained as prisoners at Coomassie, together with all the men, women, and children carried off into captivity from this country by your army.

“(2.) That having unjustly forced this war upon the Queen of England, thereby entailing immense expense

upon her, you will pay her Majesty 50,000 ounces of approved gold.

“(3.) That a new treaty of peace be signed at Coomassie, to which place I would proceed for that purpose with a sufficient force of white soldiers ; and that previous to my going there, you deliver up to me such hostages for my safety as I shall name hereafter, when I learn that your Majesty has accepted the terms now offered.

“14. This war has already entailed many defeats upon your armies. You have lost thousands of men in battle, and from want and disease. I am well aware of all these facts. You are surrounded by hostile tribes who long for your destruction. Be warned in time and do not listen to the advice of evil counsellors, who for their own purposes might urge you to continue a hopeless struggle against an army of white men, a struggle that can only lead to the destruction of your military power, and that must certainly bring great misery upon your people and danger to your Majesty's dynasty.

“15. As I am about to march into your territory to enforce, if necessary, the terms of peace here proposed, I have to request that the messengers whom your Majesty may send with the answer to this letter be ordered to carry a white flag plainly displayed at the end of a staff, in order that they may be known by my scouts to be friendly messengers.

“16. Being most anxious that your Majesty should know the exact contents of this letter, I have to request that you will cause it to be read and interpreted to you at different times by two interpreters, neither of whom should be present when the other is interpreting the letter to your Majesty.—I am, King, your true friend,

(Signed) “G. J. WOLSELEY.”

The messengers crossed the bridge about 7 o'clock. An hour before their starting the Naval Brigade had crossed, and marched some distance along the road in advance, so that to the messengers they appeared to be on the march towards Coomassie. As the envoys marched through them, the men sang ringing choruses, and the sound of their voices must have been heard long after the envoys were out of sight. Beyond the river Ading the envoys were handed over by Captain Buller to a detachment of Russell's Regiment, which was encamped at Atto-biassie, eight miles north of the Prah, and by them passed on to Lord Gifford's scouts at Essiaman, 12 miles north, who set them free.

On the evening of the 12th, a policeman came in from the advanced party of Russell's Regiment with a letter announcing the arrival of another Ashanti envoy, reported to be the grandson of the late king, with a suite of fifteen persons, and accompanied by Mr Kühne, the German missionary. Orders were immediately sent out to bring Mr Kühne into the camp, but the Ashantis were to remain at Foomoosu, which point our advanced post had now reached. The following letter from the king was brought in by the policeman :—

" KUMASSIE, *January 9, 1874.*

" MY GOOD FRIEND,—I have received your Excellency's letters by my messengers.

" Its contents, terms of peace, coincide with my feelings, the showing of which I send you one of the detained Europeans with my messenger Owoosookoko.

" That we may have everything properly arranged, I beg to ask your Excellency to send one officer to accompany my messenger who comes with the white flag, Owoosookoko, to hear what I have to say to your Excellency.

"I really believe, your Excellency, that the message by Mr Plange could not have come from the then Governor, which I regret that he has caused this misunderstanding and disastrousness. Ammankwatea also has acted contrary to my orders ; he had no instructions to attack any of your Excellency's forts, much less the Elmina fort.

"To prevent any further misunderstandings, I beg that your Excellency will not proceed further than where your Excellency's forces have reached, for fear of meeting some of my captains as to cause any fighting.

"Regarding Mr Dawson and the rest of your Excellency's people, I beg to say Mr Dawson being the only one here I have to write and interpret your Excellency's letters properly to me, I beg that you would allow his staying here for the short time until everything is settled, that he may bring them all to your Excellency.

"Begging to remain your Excellency's obedient servant.

"For His Majesty Kofi Kalkare,

(Signed) "POKU KNEKU, his X mark, *Chief Linguist.*  
 AKWESSI APPIA, his X mark.  
 KOFI BUAKE, his X mark.  
 YAWOO NANKWI, his X mark.  
 KWABINA AMPUENSA, his X mark.  
 KOFI OWOOSO, his X mark.

"Major-General Sir G. J. Wolseley, C.B.,  
 &c.                      &c.                      &c."

The king, it will be seen, expresses his desire for peace, and sends M. Kühne as his proof thereof. He states his belief that the Governor could not have sent Plange's message, and declares that Amanquatia had disobeyed him in attacking Elmina.

Owoosoo Koko, the envoy, being questioned at Foomoosu, expressed great disappointment that he was not allowed to

hold an interview with the Governor, and declared that the king had made Amañquatia a prisoner for disobedience of orders, and was very much annoyed at his having fought with the English. The king had expressly told him that he was to urge on the Governor to stay where he was with his troops, and not to advance any further, for that if he did advance any further, there would probably be fighting between his troops and the Ashanti captains. He offered the following explanations as to the cause of the invasion of the Protectorate: "The King of Denkera," he said, "had held a palaver with the Governor of Sierra Leone, to get all the territories of the Ashanti king; and the messenger (this must have been Plange) sent with presents to the King of Ashanti had told the king that the subsidy formerly paid by the Dutch to the Ashantis would now be paid by the English to the King of Denkera; whereupon Amanquatia had risen up in the council and said, 'I will go to Denkera and fight, and reclaim their allegiance.'"

It need scarcely be said that Sir Garnet Wolseley had not studied the King of Ashanti's policy with so much care as he had done only to be taken in by such professions as these. His demands had been excessively clear; the king had not complied with them; and the day following that on which Mr Kühne arrived, Captain Buller despatched the messengers from Ahquansraimu with the following reply to the king:—

*"January 13, 1874.*

"KING,—I have to-day received your Majesty's letter of the 9th instant, and Mr Kühne has also reached my camp. I am glad to find from your letter that your Majesty has resolved upon peace; but before I can enter into any negotiations whatever with your Majesty, it is

essential that you should convince me of the sincerity of your intentions by at once sending in to me the other prisoners now held by you. As your Majesty wishes to have an interpreter left with you while peace is being arranged, I have no objection to your retaining Mr Dawson at Coomassie for the present; but I must immediately have back all the Europeans, besides the natives from Accra, Aquapim, Elmina, and the Fanti territory, now held captive in Ashanti. The fact of your Majesty having already detained two messengers from the former Governor, prevents me at present from entertaining your request to have an English officer sent to you.

"I stated in my letter of the 2d instant, the general terms upon which I am prepared to treat with your Majesty, and until these terms are complied with, I cannot halt any of my four armies. The advanced-guard of this army has already crossed the Prah, and the other three will shortly invade your kingdom at three other points, as explained in my last letter.

"Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria is as anxious as your Majesty can be for the establishment of a lasting peace between England and Ashanti. But in order that peace may be lasting, it is essential that your Majesty and your people should learn that you can no more prevent an army of white men marching into your territory, whenever your Majesty's hostile proceedings make such a step necessary on our part, than you can stop the sun from rising every morning.

"M. Kühne is sending with this a letter to his brother German missionaries, with silver coin to the value of six ounces of gold dust to defray any necessary expenses of their journey to my camp.—I am, King, your true friend,

(Signed)

"G. J. WOLSELEY."

The envoy expressed great desire to see Sir Garnet, and was very anxious to see the wonderful gun that fired 400 rounds a minute. He begged us not to advance till he could bring the king's answer, and finally was very anxious to do a little business on his own account, and exchange gold dust for silver. Mr Dawson's boy, Robert, had again accompanied the party.

The general tenor of the information which was obtained from the first party of messengers, and from Mr Kühne, was to the following effect: Amanquatia had reached Coomassie on the 22d December; his army was disbanded, and the men were sent to their homes. The only people on the road between the Adansi hills and the Prah at the date of the arrival of the messengers on the 2d January, were a few hunters, inhabiting the all but deserted villages there; but beyond the Adansi hills would be found the Adansi contingent of the main army. The King of Adansi, Cobbina Obbin, was himself at Coomassie, and the whole road as far north as Amoaful was reported swept of provisions by the retreating army, and littered with its dead.

The king apparently, as we should have supposed from his first letter, was in ignorance of the fights at Abakrampa and Dunquah, and had only heard of a great victory won by his army at Faysowah. Before leaving on the 6th, the king's head messenger stated that on his march down to the Prah he had, by command of the king, ordered all the inhabitants of the villages on this side of the Adansi hills to return to their homes; these inhabitants, he said, were all either hunters or paid scouts. We learnt from Mr Kühne these further particulars: When Amanquatia had returned with his army, it had defiled past the king in the market-place at Coomassie,

and the bones of 280 Ashanti captains, who had died or been killed in the war, were carried past. The army, he said, was really all dispersed to its homes, and on this side of the Adansi hills we should only find about thirty scouts watching our movements. Mr Kühne told us that when Sir Garnet Wolseley's letter from Prahsu had arrived, the king had sent for the missionaries, and the letter was literally translated by Mr Dawson in their presence. The king asked them if Mr Dawson's interpretation was correct, and then dismissed them. The same night he sent Mr Kühne three miles out of Coomassie to the village of Karsi, sending him away thus at night that the people might not know that he was making any concession to the white man. There the king had himself come, and spoken to Mr Kühne, and told him to tell the Governor of his desire for peace, and, in fact, almost exactly what was written in the letter. On the following morning, the envoy, Owoosoo Koko, had arrived at Karsi with the letter, and Mr Kühne was sent away, a hammock and four Fanti bearers being handed over to him by the king, together with some presents—among them some very handsome silk cloth—such as only princes are allowed to wear. The king, Mr Kühne told us, had killed every Assin and Akim captive, and many of the Fantis, but not all. His opinion of the king was not altogether flattering; he said that such was his habit of deception, that he should not for a moment think of believing him, even if he swore the "great oath;" and moreover, he said, the king was so beset by flatterers, and by a party of people who, never having gone outside Coomassie, believed it to be the greatest place in the world, and who were perpetually telling the king that he was the greatest man in the world, that he was likely to be flattered into making



war rather than submit to any punishment. Mr Kühne said that the only preparation for war which he had seen before leaving, was the manufacture of iron-stone bullets, in the absence of lead ; and he expressed his opinion that the king was not by any means rich, and could not pay a very great indemnity — pointing out that, although rumour said there was very much gold at Bantama, he had observed that before each Adai custom, when the king gives away money, he sells slaves, in order to obtain money.

The dispersion of the king's army, as related by Mr Kühne, was in our favour. Good as the discipline in Ashanti land might be, we could scarcely, with our experience of the difficulty of getting the natives together, believe that the king could assemble his whole army again in the short space of time which would elapse between Mr Kühne's departure and our arrival beyond the Adansi hills ; and therefore the Major-General felt even more satisfied as to the certainty of success attending his proceedings, though carried out with a smaller force than that which he would have used but for the break-down of transport.

It will be observed that Sir Garnet had taken steps, by his letter of the 2d January, based upon his knowledge of the political situation in Ashanti, to make the separation of the army into its component parts a certainty. He warned the king of his intention to invade the country by four different routes ; and it has already been pointed out in the first volume how this converging march of several columns was deliberately intended to induce the Ashanti chiefs to separate their forces so as to protect all these roads.

On the 4th January, the 2d West India Regiment

arrived in the camp at Prahsu—9 officers and 248 rank and file ; making, with the detachment already there, a strength of 10 officers and 340 men. This was the day on which the first bad news about transport arrived ; and both Wood's Regiment and the Naval Kroomen were at once started off to act as carriers, the West India Regiment following the next day. On the 5th, Major Russell's Regiment was ferried over the river on rafts, to take up a position at Attobiassie, on the north bank, the bridge which had been promised us for 10 A.M. on that day not being yet ready. During these first days we had an endless fund of occupation in watching the construction of Major Home's bridge, a work of considerable difficulty, owing to the nature of the bottom and the swiftness of the current. It is what is known as a crib bridge ; and considerable difficulty was incurred owing to the fact of one of the cribs getting into such a position that the side up-stream rested on a rock, and the down-stream side on sand ; so that the crib gradually tilted over down-stream. It was, however, shored up, and the bridge, although somewhat crooked-looking, was admirably firm and strong, and remained in perfect condition ; not needing any further work upon it when we returned again across the Prah at the end of February. On the morning of the 6th, the bridge had been sufficiently finished for the Naval Brigade and the Ashanti envoys to march across it.

The weather during our stay at Prahsu was very different to anything which we experienced at Cape Coast. The Harmattan had unmistakably set in, and blew freshly from the north-west on some days. On the 7th January the temperature was only 75 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade ; and the nights were even cold. On

the 8th, the detachment of the Royal Engineers arrived in camp from Cape Coast ; and we were glad to see Surgeon-Major Jackson, who had been sent away to cruise in the *Simoom*, return invigorated and renewed. During the second week in January, the bridge having been completed, the great work on hand was the bridge-head on the north bank, on which Major Home's labourers were constantly engaged ; while in the early morning, and again in the evening, the sailors and marines of the Naval Brigade were turned out to fell timber and to clear bush. The Harmattan had already exercised such a drying effect that some of the bush could be burnt ; and we had some magnificent fireworks in the evenings when the fire caught the mass of resinous creepers surrounding the tall trees, and ran up in huge sheets of flame. On some of these nights observations were taken by Captain Buller after a hard day's work ; and the latitude and longitude of Prahsu were established as follows : latitude,  $5^{\circ} 56' 34''$  ; longitude,  $1^{\circ} 24' 29''$ . The health in camp was excellent. On the 8th January, out of 427 Europeans in camp only thirteen were on the sick-list. On the 9th, Captain Baker, the Inspector-General of Police, arrived in camp, and rendered us from that day forward the most invaluable services, accompanying us on the march to Coomassie, superintending the police duties of the various camps and the postal arrangements, besides commanding a police escort for the Major-General, and being with us in all the fights. On the 10th, a detachment of Rait's Artillery, with two rocket-troughs and 100 rockets, proceeded to the front under command of Lieutenant Knox, R.A. The same day Captain Huyshe, D.A.Q.M.G., who had been out in the morning to survey a road leading from Attassi into the main road, about four miles north

of the Prah, returned ill. On the next day he was worse. Mr Irvine, who had already suffered severely from fever at Cape Coast, was suffering from bilious fever. Lieutenant Maurice was not well. Major Baker had an attack of fever and ague ; and the delay in the camp seemed to be telling generally upon the health of the staff.

All this time hard work was going on in preparing the camp for the arrival of the Europeans, and large quantities of stores were being carried from the control store on the south bank to another store erected in the Bridge-head on the north bank. The special correspondents placed 25 labourers at the disposal of the control for the purpose of carrying these loads, on payment. The Naval Brigade were now beginning to show considerable signs of suffering from climate. On the 14th they had 22 on the sick-list, and the monotony and inaction of camp-life was clearly having its effect. Our life in this camp was indeed monotonous. In almost any other country in the world one might have walked out with a gun and found something to shoot, but here there was absolutely nothing. Extraordinary tales reached our ears of a hippopotamus which used to snort at Major Home's bridge every night, but it turned out, after much watching, to be only the noise of the river against one of the ropes ; and on another occasion a careful inspection was made to find the track of an elephant which was reported to have come down to drink opposite the West India camp, but which only existed in the fervid imaginations of a nervous sentry and the special correspondent of a newspaper. Walking across the river on the Coomassie road, or along the bank eastward by a very lovely bush-path to the Assin camp at Attassi, about a mile and a half off, or a stroll along the

Barraco road, were the only excitements during the three weeks passed in camp. On one occasion a small alligator was caught about three feet long, and at another time an iguana, but with these exceptions no game was seen.

On the 15th, Rait's Artillery and Wood's Regiment marched to Attobiassie. Orders were issued on the 17th for the headquarter staff and the Naval Brigade to cross the Prah on the 20th; and we learned that the Commodore was on the road to join us with his pennant lieutenant, Lieutenant Rolfe. Captain Lanyon, A.D.C., now began to show signs of illness, and the other aide-de-camp lieutenant, the Hon. H. L. Wood, was seized with fever, so that our desire to move became still more increased. Fortunately the Major-General retained his health, and Colonel Greaves, though at times suffering considerably, was never incapacitated from duty.

On Monday, the 19th January, we made all our preparations to leave Prahsu on the following morning; but again we were destined, as we had been just before leaving Cape Coast, at the last moment before starting, to suffer the pain of losing one of our number, killed by the deadly miasma of the Coast. On the evening of the 19th, Captain Huyshe died. From our first landing he had undergone much exposure, alternating with intervals of close sedentary work, in carrying out the surveying duties intrusted to him. Within a few days of our arrival, he had surveyed the road to Dunquah, and had subsequently been detached on various duties to the front. Early in December he had started from Cape Coast to survey the roads leading through the old Ashanti camps about Effootoo, Mampon, and Jooquah, to the Sweet River eastward, and thence to the Prah, some twenty miles above Chamah. In this tour of duty he had suffered much exposure, and

had lived for many days in most unwholesome districts, inhaling poison with every breath in the foul camps abandoned by the enemy. Just before we left Cape Coast he returned and commenced plotting the result of his weeks of labour. This work was not finished till the end of the year, when he set out to join us at the Prah, arriving on the evening of the 3d January. On the morning of the 10th the first signs of illness showed themselves in him; and the symptoms rapidly developed into dysentery, soon complicated by malarious fever. Once or twice before he had been unwell, and his indomitable pluck had kept him up. But now, though he was nursed with a tenderness and skill that could not be surpassed by our Headquarter Staff-Surgeon, Dr M'Nalty, who watched him by night and by day, his life fast ebbed. The combination of diseases was too powerful, and on the night of the 19th he passed away. High-principled—stanch as steel—he had but one fault, and that one which a soldier need not blush to own. So fond was he of fighting, that at times the spirit that longed for individual combat had chafed under the restraint of staff work. Wherever there was a chance of an action, there Huyshe had been; and the reader who has followed the earlier portion of the war, will note that he had arranged to see more active work than any other of the staff. And now the gallant spirit was at rest, and the body that had borne it was laid quietly in its last home under the huge forest-trees, on the very morning that saw us cross the boundary towards the goal he had so longed to reach.

## CHAPTER II.

ADVANCE OF THE MAIN COLUMN TO THE ADANSI HILLS—PASSAGE OF THE HILLS BY THE ADVANCED-GUARD—FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING—RELEASE OF THE EUROPEAN CAPTIVES—PROGRESS OF THE TELEGRAPH FROM CAPE COAST—ORGANISATION OF THE TRANSPORT.

EARLY in December the officer in charge of the intelligence department had been sent to the front to endeavour to form a company of scouts from among those who had been employed during the advance towards the Prah, and this company had been placed temporarily under the command of Lieutenant Grant of the 6th Regiment. Within the first fortnight of December the scouts crossed the Prah, and examined the country four miles to the north, reporting it clear of the enemy, and capturing a prisoner, who stated that the enemy's army had marched northwards directly after crossing the river. Between the 15th and 25th December the scouts collected twenty canoes which had been used by the Ashantis in crossing; and having advanced to the village of Kikiwherri, five miles beyond the river, and pushed on patrols some miles further, reported no sign of living beings to be seen.

On the arrival of the Major-General at Prahsu, it was decided to form a larger body of scouts, and the command of them for the operations north of the Prah was intrusted to Lieutenant Lord Gifford of the 24th Regiment. This

officer had shown great ability and tact in the position which he had held up to this time as Adjutant of Russell's Regiment ; he had been engaged in more than one action with the Ashantis, and had shown remarkable coolness ; he was known to be a keen sportsman, which no man can be unless he possesses a combination of nerve, daring, and judgment—invaluable qualities in the officer charged with so important a duty as that of commanding scouts.

The enemy did us a very good turn by sending the embassy spoken of in the last chapter, so early after our arrival at the Prah ; for we learnt by this means, as already narrated (that which it might have cost the scouts much difficulty to ascertain), what had become of the main army under Amanquatia, and that we might expect little or no opposition on this side of the Adansi hills. Mr Dawson's boy said that at Essiaman, twelve miles north of the Prah, there were six Ashanti scouts, with three women ; that three more men had been ordered there by the king ; and that there was no body of troops nearer than the men of Adansi on the other side of the hill.

On the morning of the 5th January, Russell's Regiment, about 500 strong, was ferried across the Prah, the bridge not being yet ready, and marched to Attobiassi, about eight miles from the river, while Lord Gifford advanced with the scouts to Essiaman. Russell's Regiment had orders before starting to send on a company provided with intrenching tools, to form a defensive post at Essiaman, while the remainder of the regiment was to occupy itself in clearing the ground and erecting huts at Attobiassi, and on the 6th to commence opening the road. The regiment took with it a week's supplies, and its regimental reserve of ammunition ; and its carriers returned on the



following day to Prahsu, and commenced carrying supplies to the front.

Arrangements were made for the retention of carriers sent in from the front, on the north bank of the river. A guard was placed upon the bridge under charge of an officer, and no natives were allowed to cross over to the south bank. These precautions were taken to prevent desertion ; and, as already narrated, stores were carried by control labourers to Prahsu, working in regular gangs from the store on the south bank to the bridge-head on the north bank.

Lord Gifford arrived at Essiaman on the evening of the 5th, and found a party of Ashanti scouts there, who fired upon our scouts. One Ashanti was killed, and two women were captured. Subsequently, whilst our scouts were clearing the bush, the Ashantis crept up and fired upon them, wounding one man dangerously.

On the 6th, the Royal Engineer labourers commenced cutting the road from the bridge-head at Prahsu northwards towards Attobiassi, and Russell's men commenced cutting it forward to Essiaman. The first portion of the road to Essiaman was the worst that we encountered between the Prah and Coomassie, although there were very good level pieces of gravel-path. This portion of the road was much crossed by large roots of trees—many trees had fallen across it,—in many places it was trodden down by the native feet into a V-shaped rut, and there were three swamps on the road to the river Nemea.

On the 7th January Russell's Regiment marched to Essiaman, with orders to make a defensible post there ; and Lord Gifford with the scouts pushed on to Ansah over a road a great portion of which was muddy swamp. No resistance was encountered, but traces of Ashanti

scouts in some numbers were seen. Advancing upon Ansah, the scouts found a goat's skin stretched across the path, and nailed to posts on each side. The meaning of this was variously interpreted, some of the natives saying that it meant war, but the general opinion being that it was merely a fetish to stop our advance.

On the 8th, Major Russell was occupied in putting Essiaman in a state of defence, and Lord Gifford advanced to the Foomoosu river without opposition.

On the 9th, the Houssas of Russell's Regiment were pushed on to Ansah to clear bush there and fortify the place ; 50 of them were sent on to the south bank of the Foomoosu river, while 100 men under Lieutenant Wauchope advanced half-way from Essiaman to Ansah.

Lieutenant Hart of the 31st Regiment accompanied Lord Gifford and the scouts for purposes of sketching only, with an escort of ten men. The Houssas, so far as time admitted, were employed in clearing the road.

An excellent site for an encampment was found at Foomoosu ; the river there was from thirty to sixty feet wide, and fordable. Some of the scouts pushed on to Accrofoomu, and found there a party of about fifty Ashantis, who formed, in their opinion, an advanced picquet of a larger force.

On the 10th, Lord Gifford crept up with a few of his men to Accrofoomu, and heard the sound of many voices—in fact, as he described it, “a buzz of Ashantis.” His scouts were convinced that there was a large force behind the village, and accordingly he determined to reconnoitre in the night. He had now 170 men with him, and proposed to attack the Ashantis should they not be in very large numbers. All the Houssas had now been pushed on to the Foomoosu river, where with the scouts

they were occupied in clearing the bush and forming an intrenched post, with orders, as soon as this was done, to cut the road back from Foomoosu to Ansah. Orders were sent out to Lord Gifford that he was not to attack the enemy with only the small force at his command.

On the 10th, the commanding Royal Engineer and his native labourers having completed all the work in hand at Prahsu, moved on to Essiaman. On the 12th, Lord Gifford reached Accrofoomu, and found that the Ashantis had all gone, with the exception of ten Ashanti scouts who ran away, leaving their baggage and powder in his hands. As they did not fire upon him, Lord Gifford's scouts did not fire upon them ; his orders being, so long as there was any hope of negotiations with the king ending peaceably, that he was not to fire upon the enemy unless he encountered resistance. The village was found to consist of only seven houses, and was reported as a good site for a camp.

The second Ashanti embassy, with Mr Kühne, arrived this day at the outposts, and an officer and 25 men of the 2d West India Regiment were sent out to Foomoosu, to which place the commanding Royal Engineer advanced with his labourers. Major Russell, on receipt of the information that Accrofoomu was deserted by the enemy, immediately ordered on Captain Gordon with the Houssas, together with a detachment of West Indians, to occupy and intrench it ; and Major Home and Captain Buckle, R.E., also went on there. The Opobo company of Russell's Regiment was sent to Foomoosu, and the Ashanti envoys were taken on to Accrofoomu.

On the 13th, Russell's Regiment and the rocket-party were sent on to Accrofoomu ; and the headquarters of the 2d West India Regiment, about 150 strong, were ordered

to Essiaman, where a large control store had already been built, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition collected. A large control store was now ordered to be built at Accrofoomu.

On the 14th, Lord Gifford advanced with the scouts and the Houssas in support to Ahquansraimu, from which point the Ashanti envoys were despatched; and on the 15th, Wood's Regiment and Rait's Artillery, with a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment, advanced to Essiaman. The same day Lord Gifford pushed on his scouts to Oweeramassi Quantah, and at this point found a road leading to the left, which was said to be only used by great chiefs, and to lead by way of Huassi to Dompooassie. The information given to Lord Gifford by those among his scouts who knew this district was to the effect that the march to Dompooassie by this road would take a long day, but that the direct advance over the Moinsey hill would only take four hours.

Orders were issued on this day to Major Russell to the effect that the Major-General wished him if possible to obtain possession of, and hold, the crest of the Adansi hills. Should he be able to do this, Wood's Regiment would be advanced to Ahquansraimu, so as to be nearer to him in case he should need support. The 2d West India Regiment would advance from Essiaman to Accrofoomu, and a company of Wood's Regiment would remain to garrison Essiaman. Major Russell was cautioned to bear in mind that anything like the appearance of a reverse at this juncture would have a very bad effect, that consequently great caution was necessary, and that he must have the ground thoroughly explored by his scouts before moving. He was on no account to bring on an engagement; but should he be able to gain the crest

without an action, he was to hold it and fortify it, and should there be water there, to move up the whole of his regiment, in which case Wood's Regiment would be moved to Moinsey.

On the 16th, the scouts reached the foot of the Moinsey hill and found no enemy, only a large deserted Ashanti camp. Several goats and fowls were found dead on the road, which were supposed to have been killed by order of the fetish priests to stop our advance. Major Russell followed to the foot of the hill with his regiment, searching the village of Moinsey itself, which lay about a quarter of a mile east of the road, and was found deserted.

On the 17th, Russell occupied and fortified the crest of the Moinsey hill. There were some Ashantis in possession, but Lord Gifford handled his scouts in such a clever manner, and they responded so well to his call, that the enemy, being very nearly surrounded, evacuated the position in the greatest confusion without a shot being fired. Major Russell reported that he was holding the hill with the Houssas and Opobo company of his regiment, together 150 strong, and the main body of Lord Gifford's scouts. The Mumford company, 100 strong, was in support at the foot of the hill, and the Winnebah company, 100, in reserve. The Sierra Leone company formed the rear-guard, with a strong picquet at the junction of the roads north of the Parakoom river, where the path already described led off to the west. Regarding this point Major Russell expressed some little anxiety; and accordingly, immediately on receipt of his report, orders were sent for Wood's Regiment to advance to the Parakoom river, and hold the cross-roads in force. Major Russell reports as follows: "The enemy have this day surrendered without opposition a most formidable military posi-

tion." Major Home, with thirty-six sappers, arrived on this day at Moinsey, and commenced forming an intrenched post there. Clearings sufficient for the encampment of two battalions had already been made at Essiaman and Accrofoomu, together with fortified posts for sixty men, containing large control stores ; and a clearing sufficient for four battalions was ordered to be made at Moinsey.

On the 18th, Lord Gifford with his scouts advanced to Quisah, over the hill, and found the town deserted by all except some scouts. Quisah is the first town in Ashanti proper. The territory south of the Adansi hills is the old Assin country, from which the Assins have been driven out, and now belongs nominally to the King of Adansi, though the old Assin villages are nearly all deserted, and inhabited only by a few scouts and hunters. The Ashanti scouts at Quisah, on seeing Lord Gifford's men advance, reversed arms, and asked what he and his party really meant, saying that if we meant fighting, they were ready to fight, but they must ask their chief first. Lord Gifford told them, through an interpreter, that we also were ready to fight, but that he also wanted the order from his General. Then they said, that if we came to Quisah they would fight. The town, however, was deserted on the morning of the 19th ; and accordingly, Russell, on his own responsibility, moved down and occupied it. Before he took this step, orders had been sent from headquarters that he was not to advance beyond the crest of the hill, the Major-General's intention being now to concentrate south of the hills, and not show any force beyond them till he should march over with his white troops. But the orders did not reach Major Russell in time for him to act upon them ; and he of course did not abandon Quisah, having once got possession of it.

The advanced-guard now consisted of Rait's Artillery and Wood's Regiment, Russell's Regiment, and the headquarters of the 2d West India Regiment, and it was necessary to form it into a separate command. Accordingly, Colonel M'Leod, C.B., 42d Highlanders, was ordered up from Mansu to take the command, and arrived at Prahsu on the 19th. Colonel Colley arrived on the same day, and reported that the transport difficulty was satisfactorily overcome.

On the morning of the 20th, the passage of the Prah by the European troops commenced; but before describing any further movements, it will be well to make a few comments. The Major-General's original intention had been to concentrate his force at Prahsu on the 13th January, and to cross that river on the 15th with his entire European army—having previously made his bridge, and formed a bridge-head on the north bank—under protection of Rait's guns and the infantry of the Naval Brigade and Wood's and Russell's Regiments. Orders to this effect had been issued in anticipation of resistance being offered by the enemy, if not to the passage of the Prah itself, at least to our advance immediately beyond it. He had anticipated that our advance would have to be made in the face of the enemy from the north bank of the Prah, that the roads would have to be cut, and camping-grounds cleared every day under cover of the whole European force; and consequently, he had not hoped that our advance north of the Prah could be more rapid than from four to five miles a-day.

In consequence of the desertion of the carriers, however, the concentration on the Prah by the 13th was obliged to be abandoned. Nevertheless, we should now be able to arrive at the Adansi hills at quite as early a

date as the Major-General had anticipated ; for the enemy had retired before us without fighting, and had allowed a road to be cut up to the very crest of the hill. Fortified posts were established along that road, and encamping-grounds cleared for the European troops ; huts were built, water-supply prepared, and sanitary conditions improved ; and the marches were so arranged, that in four days from leaving Prahsu, the European troops could, if necessary, concentrate at Quisah, on the north side of the Adansi hills.

Thus, so far from our movements having been delayed, and time having been lost, time was actually gained over what had originally been anticipated ; and in addition, the European troops would be able to march to the other side of the Adansi hills with comfort, and under most favourable sanitary conditions, instead of with the discomforts and under the unfavourable conditions which, it had been feared, they would have to meet.

On the early morning of the 20th January, the Major-General, with the headquarter staff, marched from Prahsu to Essiaman, and Colonel M'Leod pushed on in advance. We were all rejoiced at leaving Prahsu. It seems as though it were impossible to halt for any length of time at one place in the African forest, without suffering severely in health ; and whether it was due to our long halt only, or to the noise which the Naval Brigade commenced to make as early as 3 A.M., keeping us awake from that hour, or, what is still more possible, to the distress which we all felt at Captain Huyshe's death on the previous night, not one of us woke on the morning of the 20th without headache, and a feeling of unusual depression.

At Essiaman we were quartered in the old Assin



village, situated on a round hill encompassed by a small clearing. The huts of the old village were surrounded by a stockade which scarcely did full credit to our Engineers. It was made of strong timber of ten to eighteen inches in diameter, but of such irregular shape that the spaces left between the posts were sometimes nearly as wide as the posts themselves, and much larger than the loopholes which had, with infinite labour, been cut by the side of these natural embrasures. Slugs fired by the enemy would have penetrated freely between the timbers ; and as at this time there was no ditch, the enemy, if they could make one rush, had as good a chance of using the loopholes from their side, as the garrison of the fort from theirs. Outside the fort shelter-sheds had been built for half a battalion of white troops, and a clear running stream gave excellent water within 200 yards of the fort.

The Naval Brigade accompanied the headquarters, Captain Luxmoore being in command. Captain Blake, who had commanded them up to Prahsu, was left behind, suffering severely from dysentery, and was sent down to Cape Coast, where he died almost immediately after his arrival—another victim to this awful climate. For months past his ship had been lying off the coast, and he had performed signal service on the windward coast ; and now, just as the dreary monotony of that life had ended, and he was about to reap the fruits of his previous labours in command of the Naval Brigade at the front, he was seized with this insidious disease which so often proves fatal in this climate.

On the evening of our arrival at Essiaman, Captain Lanyon, A.D.C. to the Major-General, who had shown signs of sickness at Prahsu, was pronounced to be suffer-

ing from dysentery ; and at daybreak next day was sent back to Prahshu. On the morning of the 21st, after a somewhat restless night, caused by the scampering of the rats in the roofs of our huts, and their occasionally dropping on to the floor and consequent squeaking, we marched for Accrofoomu, the Naval Brigade again accompanying us. The road was wonderfully good, all the swamps having been turned. Here we found an admirable fort, constructed on what is known as the New Zealand type, consisting of a low parapet into which a wattle-fence was driven, with an exterior ditch, fraised at the angles. A fort of this description affords far better shelter, and is constructed with about a tenth part of the labour of the stockade erected at Essiaman ; and against slugs affords a considerable protection. On the road we passed the Foomoosu river, just like an English trout-stream, boiling clear and bright over rocks, and then falling into deep pools. Directly we crossed this stream, the nature of the country seemed to change ; and we passed from granite into a region of carboniferous shale rocks, picturesque in form.

The Major-General and the staff were quartered for the night in the control sheds inside the fort, but the Naval Brigade and the detachment of 2d West Indians were camped outside. This evening Commodore Hewett and his pennant lieutenant, Lieutenant Rolfe, R.N., accompanied by Captain Grubbe, R.N., arrived in camp, as did Surgeon-Major Mackinnon, the principal medical officer. Shortly afterwards Lieutenant Rolfe was appointed naval aide-de-camp to the Major-General, and the Commodore and himself remained with our headquarter mess until our return to Fommanah after the capture of Coomassie. In the night a great scare took place in the camp ; what was

the origin of it is not quite certain ; probably some of the West Indians were gambling and a dispute arose among them ; but at all events the rumour arose that the Ashantis were upon us, and there was a general rush towards the stockade by the Kroomen and West India troops, which was, however, soon quieted.

On the morning of the 22d the march was continued to Moinsey. At the Parakoom river we passed the 2d West India Regiment in a splendid camp on the banks of a fine broad stream, and at the cross-roads (already more than once mentioned) to the north of the river, a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment, under Captain Paterson, busily engaged in throwing up a defensive work and clearing bush. At Moinsey we found Wood's Regiment and Rait's Artillery. A wattled stockade had been erected here around the control store and hospital, with room for a garrison of some 60 men.

In the afternoon the Major-General with his staff went to the top of the hill, hoping to find a camping-ground there for the headquarter staff. The ascent of the hill was exceedingly steep, but an excellent zigzag road had been made by Major Home, up which it was possible to ride, and even a carriage might have been drawn. The native path, however, went straight up the face of the hill without a bend, the slope being, for 250 yards of its course, as steep as  $25^{\circ}$ , and the ascent being made by stepping from one projecting stone to another. From the cross-roads to Moinsey at the foot of the hill to the summit itself was, by the native path, 1260 yards of steep climb. At the summit of the hill we obtained the first view that we had had since leaving Cape Coast. The extreme summit had been cleared by the detachment of Wood's Regiment which, under Lieutenant

Richmond, was quartered there. To the south the view was bounded with a belt of trees ; to the west lay a deep ravine, behind which another hill closed the view ; but away to the east, so far as the mist, which always covers the forest, would allow, one could see ridge after ridge of hills ; and to the north we looked far over the forest in the direction of the goal of our enterprise, Coomassie. No sign of life was visible ; the village of Quisah lay scarcely a mile below at our feet ; and had we not known it was there, we could not have detected the thin film of smoke rising from it and mingling with the blue mist. Nowhere else was there a trace of smoke ; nowhere else did the dense mass of green tree-tops show even the slightest break. The eye could not range far, for the cloud of damp vapour dimmed every outline and merged into the upper atmosphere, so that no horizon was visible ; yet this was at the hottest time of a bright afternoon in the dry season. Crossing the hill afterwards, both going and returning, nothing like so clear a view was visible as on this afternoon. No place was found for a camp for headquarters. We must either have remained exposed to the glaring rays of the sun in the open clearing on the top of the hill, or have camped under the trees where every inch of ground had been defiled first by the Ashantis, and afterwards by our own men ; and so we returned to the foot of the hill and encamped in the most unhealthy and unpleasant place which we had experienced in the whole march.

That night there was a plague of ants in the camp : our servants, who had lain down to rest, were all soon running about scratching themselves in the wildest manner ; nor did we ourselves altogether escape from the foe. This nightly migration of ants is very remarkable. On

this occasion a line might have been drawn about 15 yards east of the Major-General's hut, for many yards beyond which the ground was a swarming mass of these insects, while on the other side of the line scarcely an ant was to be seen. Nothing will stop these insects on the road which they have determined to travel ; and several occasions came to notice in which, in spite of fires lighted and wood-ashes sprinkled, which it is supposed the ants will not cross, officers were obliged to get up in the night, take up their beds and walk, a stream of insects having made up their minds that they would march where the bed was placed.

During our march news had reached us at Essiaman, on the 20th, that Lord Gifford, with his scouts, had entered Fommanah on the 19th, and found it deserted. All along the road from Quisah to Fommanah the fetish priests had been at work. A white thread was stretched from tree to tree the whole way, and at the town of Fommanah itself, strips of white cotton or linen were nailed to the trees. Before reaching Fommanah, Lord Gifford had found, planted in the middle of the road, a gun roughly carved out of wood, with a number of knives stuck in it ; and a dead man was impaled on a stake close by, horribly mutilated, with the dis severed parts of his body hung round his neck. Fommanah had evidently been hastily deserted, the inhabitants having left behind many of their goods and chattels.

After our arrival at Moinsey, we heard the result of a reconnaissance to Huassi, made by the scouts. Lord Gifford found the village evacuated, but everything was left behind by the inhabitants, again showing hasty flight. Some four miles to the east or north-east of Fommanah considerable musketry-firing had been heard, which, in

the almost certain knowledge that Captain Butler with his Western Akims could not yet have reached this place, we attributed, and probably rightly so, to fetish.

On the 23d, the headquarters halted at Moinsey ; Lieut. the Hon. H. L. Wood, A.D.C., whom we had left behind at Prahsu sick with fever, arrived ; the Rifle Brigade also marched in. The Naval Brigade and Rait's Artillery marched to Quisah ; Russell's Regiment, with the commanding Royal Engineer, pushing on to Fommanah. Sickness had now begun to make its mark upon the troops : the Naval Brigade had dropped about 40 out of 250 since leaving Cape Coast, and the Rifle Brigade had in the same time sent back 57 out of 650. This was in three weeks ; and the daily sick report increased in an ascending ratio, making it most important that the battle, if battle there was to be, fought with the enemy should take place at the earliest possible moment. It became, consequently, most important to get information of the enemy's movements : and large rewards were offered to the scouts for captured prisoners. Orders were issued for the advance of the headquarters and the Rifle Brigade to Fommanah on the 24th, and the palace of the King of Adansi at Fommanah was to be allotted to the Headquarters.

On the previous day a patrol of the 2d West India Regiment had marched along the path leading west from the Parakoom river cross-roads, and had found the road well trodden and apparently much used lately, but no signs of occupation for the last three or four days. At about 3000 yards from the cross-roads, a deserted village of some 50 houses had been found, and at about 6000 yards the foot of the hills had been reached. The ridge was ascended, but no view could be obtained from it, and

the only track was one which led eastward along the top of the ridge, and was followed without sign of life to be seen for a quarter of a mile. This path was afterwards found to be only a hunter's track. In the course of the morning Lord Gifford proceeded as far as Dompoassie with the scouts, and reported it deserted and only a poor place.

The arrangements generally made now were as follows : The Rifle Brigade, which had crossed the Prah on the 21st, was, as already reported, to march to Fommanah on the 24th ; the 42d and headquarters of the 23d, which had crossed the Prah on the 22d and 23d, would concentrate at Quisah on the 26th. The field hospitals and S.A. ammunition reserve were to cross the Prah on the 24th and overtake the rear of the force. The concentration would thus take place on the north of the Adansi hills instead of on the south as previously proposed. Half a company of Wood's Regiment was to garrison the crest of the Adansi hill, where a fortified post was made ; another half company was to garrison Moinsey ; a detachment of West Indians, with part of No. 1 company of Wood's Regiment was to garrison Accrofoo-mu, and the remainder of this company was to garrison Essiaman ; the 2d West India Regiment was to concentrate on the Parakoom river. As regards the communications, the arrangements at this time were that the 2d West India Regiment was to hold the posts south of the Adansi hills, and the 1st West India Regiment those north of that point, marching on to Quisah at once, having already been ordered up from Mansu to Prahsu. There were now from the crest of the Adansi hills to the bridge-head at Prahsu inclusive six fortified posts—namely, summit of Adansi hill, Moinsey, cross-roads on the Parakoom

river, Accrofoomu, Essiaman, and the bridge-head north of the Prah. Prahsu and the bridge-head were garrisoned by about 100 of the 2d West India Regiment; and in consequence of the sickness amongst the white troops, and the news which now reached us about the 22d to the effect that the king was doing his best to collect his army, and that he would make a stand about Amoaful (a point at the junction of several roads), a detachment of 200 of the 23d Regiment was ordered to be landed and marched up to Prahsu.

These arrangements had all been made, and the orders issued for the movement of the headquarters to Fommanah on the following day, when, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d, news came in from the outposts that two envoys had arrived with a letter from the king, and accompanied by the remainder of the white captives. The king's letter and the missionaries were at once sent on, and the Ashanti envoys were detained at Fommanah. Shortly afterwards, the released captives arrived in our camp—Monsieur Bonnat, French merchant, and Mr and Mrs Ramseyer and their two children, one a baby, born in the previous November.

The letter from the king was as follows :—

“COOMASSIE, *January 21, 1874.*

“MY GOOD FRIEND,—I send my messengers, Court Crier Buede and Pessa Denyaw, to bring the remaining detained Europeans, having made up my mind to pay Eddoo Boffo the sum—£1000—he asked, rather than allowing this small amount to make up a quarrel between us.

“I beg at the same to acquaint your Excellency my grief respecting the rapid advancement your Excellency's



forces are making in my territory since I have written your Excellency of my having coincided with the terms you offered in your letter, I thought, as a friend who wishes not any disorder in the country, would have stopped their progress and patiently allowed matters to be amicably settled between us. I beg also to say that, since I have no quarrel of any kind with your Excellency, you would stop the progress of the forces, and let us go on with peaceful negotiation. I will make Ammankwatia, who has acted contrary to my instructions, pay the amount your Excellency ask, if you only keep patience and stop the advancement of the forces. Respecting the Fantis, &c., your Excellency demand, I beg to say that, after we have amicably settled the matter between us, I will hand them to Mr Dawson to bring to your Excellency. Trusting your Excellency will exercise patience and let us go on with peaceful negotiation, with my best respect.—We are, &c.

“(For his Majesty Kofi Kalkaree)

(Signed) YAN NANKWI, his ~~X~~ mark.  
 KUEKU POKU, his ~~X~~ mark.  
 KOFI BUAKE, his ~~X~~ mark, *Linguists*.

“His Excellency Major-General Sir G. Wolseley, C.B., K.C.M.G.  
 &c. &c. &c.

“*P.S.*—I regret very much that my messenger Oswoosookoko was not allowed to see your Excellency, and I hope this time you will allow these to see you, my good friend, as to report to me.”

So far good fortune had indeed attended the Major-General. All the white captives were now in our hands, and come what might in future, there could be no fear now of their being murdered out of any feeling of revenge

or at the instigation of the fetish priests. The king, moreover, states that he accepts the governor's terms ; he has given up the money payment for the missionaries, and declares that he will make Amanquatia pay the indemnity demanded. All that he begs is that the governor will have patience, and stop the advance of his force, whose rapid movement is causing him much grief. Now Sir Garnet Wolseley had not yet been taken in by any of the king's demands for delay. Delay, delay, delay, had been the burden of the demands of the previous messengers, and the king had sent in Mr Kühne to the headquarters to stop the advance of the white troops, in the same way that a man pursued by wolves throws to them one garment after another to stop their pursuit. It was still less likely that Sir Garnet would be taken in now. It will be observed that the king had still not sent the Fanti prisoners, and it was by this time well known at the headquarters that he was using all his endeavours to collect troops to oppose our progress. We scarcely believed, or scarcely hoped, that we should be allowed to advance to Coomassie without fighting ; but it was more than ever necessary that Coomassie should be reached by our forces, and that the king should be taught that these half-compromises could not be accepted, and that he must bow to the will of the Queen of England, and pay in one form or other compensation for the wrongs which he had done. Nevertheless, while still resolved to push on and enforce his demands, the Major-General had already received a great instalment ; he had obtained the white captives, and the king's promise to pay the indemnity. He therefore requested the Commodore to send a ship immediately to Gibraltar with the following telegram to Her Majesty's Government :—

"All the white prisoners are now in my camp, the king accepts the terms I offered, and says he will pay the indemnity demanded—£200,000. I halt to-morrow for a few days at Fommanah, 30 miles from Coomassie. All going on well."

The Commodore immediately sent orders to Cape Coast for the Sarmatian to be despatched to Gibraltar with this telegram. She sailed on the 24th January, and the telegram arrived in England on the 5th February.

So rapid was the passage of this despatch, that it was believed by many in England to be an electioneering squib, when it appeared in the newspapers on the morning of the 5th February. It was sent from Moinsey at about 6 P.M. on the 23d by a police runner, who was promised a good reward if he reached Prahsu, distant  $32\frac{1}{2}$  miles, before daybreak on the 24th. Thence an officer was sent by Colonel Festing to Barraco, the nearest telegraph station, with orders to have the despatches, which were in two ciphers, one to Colonial Office, and one to War Office, repeated. By 10.30 the despatches had been repeated from Cape Coast; and the same evening the Sarmatian sailed, making the passage to Gibraltar in less than nine days, so that news from the Adansi hills was published in London in less than ten days.

Our telegraph had not made very rapid progress; and except at Accroful, on the road up country, and Essiaman, Prahsu, and Mansu on the road down, the headquarters never had the advantage of a telegraph station at hand. Yet we were fortunate in having so much valuable advantage from it as we had. Within a few days of arrival at Cape Coast, Sir Garnet Wolseley had applied to the War Office for 200 miles of telegraph, with an officer and 25 operators and linesmen to be sent out. This demand had,

however, been partially anticipated by the Government. An officer and detachment of men were sent out in the Himalaya ; 72 miles of wire, subsequently increased to 200 miles, having been got in readiness for shipment. Unfortunately, however, the wire and other telegraphic stores were shipped in the Dromedary, the slowest ship on record ; and it was only by Lieutenant Jekyll, the officer appointed to take charge of the telegraph, having, with his usual good sense and energy, shipped the stores required for 20 miles of line, and two instruments, as part of his private baggage on board the Himalaya, that the line was laid to Dunquah before the Dromedary arrived.

Great difficulties were encountered in laying the line. Lieutenant Jekyll was required to perform other duties besides those in connection with the telegraph ; he was underhanded in labour ; the labourers were unskilled ; the tools hurriedly put on board the Himalaya were insufficient in quantity, and not always suited to his wants ; the wire became so charged with electricity during the frequent storms in December, that it could not be handled ; and the instruments had to be disconnected to save them from destruction. On the 28th December the line wire was melted by lightning. At this time, too, transport was wanting, owing to the desertion of carriers, and the necessity for pushing on supplies of food to the front. And finally, much delay was caused by the necessity for cutting away creepers and boughs of trees from almost every yard of the line. The progress of the telegraph, therefore, though not equal to what had been hoped for, was the utmost that could, under the circumstances, have been made ; and Lieutenant Jekyll deserves every credit for his strenuous exertions.

It will be noticed that in this telegram the Major-

General expresses his intention to halt for some days at Fommanah. He considered it necessary that a depot of supplies for ten days should be formed there before the white troops advanced to any further point. It rested with Colonel Colley and the transport how long that halt should be ; but the delay gave the Major-General an opportunity of appearing to the King of Ashanti to be halting in compliance with his request, and thus if the king really meant peace, every chance would be given to him of carrying out his promises. On our arrival at Fommanah on the 24th, the following letter was sent by Sir Garnet Wolseley to the king :—

“ KING,—Your Majesty and all your chiefs know well, from past experience, that the promises of an English Governor are never broken. Whatever he says he will do, he does. I have in all my letters to your Majesty assured you that the Queen of England desires above all things to have peace firmly established between her subjects and yours ; and I have told you that I wish only for your good. I am therefore surprised and grieved to find that you have not sent back all the prisoners that I demanded.

“ I intend to go to Coomassie. It is for your Majesty to decide whether I go there as your friend or as your enemy.

“ If I go there as your enemy, I shall march at the head of an irresistible English army, and I must again remind you of the consequences that this may have upon your Majesty's dynasty and upon the Ashanti kingdom.

“ If your Majesty sincerely wishes me to go to Coomassie as your friend, you must give me the following guarantees of your good faith :—

“ 1st. All the native prisoners still in your hands must be forthwith returned to me as demanded in my last letter ; but as your Majesty wishes to retain Mr Dawson as an interpreter, whilst negotiations are going on, I have no objection to his remaining at Coomassie for the present.

“ 2d. The following hostages must be at once delivered up to me :—

“ 1. Prince Mensa, your Majesty's heir.

“ 2. Your Majesty's mother.

“ 3. The heir of the King of Juabin.

“ 4. The heir of the King of Kokofoo.

“ 5. The heir of the King of Mampon.

“ 6. The heir of the King of Becqua.

“ 3d. One-half of the 50,000 ounces of gold to be paid by your Majesty as an indemnity must be sent to me immediately. When these guarantees are given to me, I shall halt this army at the places where it may then happen to be, and I shall also send orders to halt to the armies now moving by the Wassaw path, and from Prahsu Akim, and from Eastern Akim.

“ I shall then proceed to Coomassie with an escort of only about 500 English soldiers, in order to make a treaty of peace with your Majesty. The sooner I receive these guarantees, the sooner will my armies halt ; and in order to allow your Majesty to fulfil my demands without trouble, I shall only advance very slowly with this army during the next few days.

“ Your Majesty knows very well that you can safely rely upon the fulfilment of any promise that I may make.

“ I assure you that the hostages shall be well treated as becomes their position, and that they shall be sent back into Ashanti territory with due honour as soon as all the terms of peace offered by me have been complied with, and

my armies have recrossed the Prah into Fanti territory, which they will do as soon as the treaty of peace has been signed. An officer of rank has conferred with your messengers, and I shall have much pleasure in conferring with your Majesty personally when I arrive at Coomassic. —I am, King, your true friend,

(Signed) “G. J. WOLSELEY,  
*Major-General and Administrator, Gold Coast.*

“FOMMANAH, January 24, 1874.

“P.S.—As Mr Dawson has asked for money, I send him £20 in silver by his servant. G. J. W.”

The hostages named were those whom we had learnt from the missionaries, as well as from other sources, to be the most important people in the Ashanti kingdom. Hostages of lesser note might have been asked, with more chances, perhaps, of obtaining them; but the acceptance of any minor people would fail to impress the king with that idea of our irresistible strength which it was absolutely necessary for our future peaceful relations to impress not only upon his mind, but upon the minds of those chiefs and counsellors who were known to be perpetually urging him to war.

No alteration in the plans of advance was made in consequence of the arrival of the missionaries. They remained in our camp that night, and on the following day Mr Ramseyer, with his wife and children, moved to Cape Coast. Monsieur Bonnat remained with us, attached to the intelligence department, and rendering us most useful services, not only by the information which he was enabled to impart, but by a most courageous and devoted care and attention to the wounded under the very hottest fire in the action of Amoaful.

It has been said that the Major-General was compelled to halt some time at Fommanah, for the formation of a depot of supplies there; and that it rested with Colonel Colley and the transport how long that halt should be. It may therefore be opportune to state here what steps Colonel Colley had taken in the matter of transport since we last spoke of his having reported all going well on the 15th. On the 17th Colonel Colley had, by general order, been placed in charge of the line of communication between the front and Cape Coast, a step to which attention is invited. By this means the officer in charge of the transport became also in command of all the posts on the road, and could issue all those orders which might, in his opinion, be necessary for the movement and protection of the transport along the line. It thus became impossible for the chance action of any one commander of a post to mar the harmonious working of the transport, and all the troops on the whole line would be working on one system to one end. The communications of an army while it is advancing are kept up mainly for the sake of supply, and return of sick and wounded; and the communications are useless if the transport fails, just as the transport is useless if the communications are severed. The two matters so essentially blend into one, that the natural sequence seems to be their being united under one command. If the troops are under one command, and the transport under another, friction is sure to ensue; and the public service will suffer. But in order that both may be placed under the same command, the commander must be a combatant officer of rank; and that, unfortunately, is exactly what our existing system does not admit. That system had in this case been set aside, with what advantage to the expedition the next chapter will show.



Let us now turn to the steps taken by Colonel Colley. In consequence of the great accumulation of stores at Dunquah, he had indicated that as the general rendezvous for all the fresh carriers coming in in the middle of December. There they streamed in detachments from all directions, were rationed and rested for the night, and the next morning were loaded and sent on to Mansu. At Mansu Colonel Colley had collected the officers intended to have charge of the divisions of transport, each of whom was detailed to a particular tribe. As the mixed convoys came in they were at once broken up and taken charge of by their officers, who registered the men and formed them in companies, as far as possible by villages and districts. The "divisions" thus formed under transport officers varied in strength from 500 to 800. As a rule, one superintendent at 2s. 6d. a day was allowed to every 100 men, and one head-man at 2s. to every 20; but these proportions were not strictly adhered to, it being considered better to follow, as far as possible, the tribal subdivisions. Thus the head-man of one town or village would bring with him perhaps 120 men, while another only brought 60, and these numbers would not be disturbed. To each division was appointed an interpreter; a superintendent was appointed by the officer, performed the duties of sergeant-major, and received pay at the rate of 4s. or 5s. a-day. To complete, as far as possible, the tribal organisation, the existing local transport was also re-distributed.

It has been related how, during the break-down of the transport, and consequent halt of the troops, all the regimental transport had been employed in forwarding stores, as well as the 1st and 2d West India Regiments employed as carriers. Wood's and Russell's Regiments had done

most effectual work, bringing up their own supplies, and much more besides. Later, 500 labourers were handed over by the Royal Engineers after the works at Prahsu were completed.

During Colonel Colley's absence at Cape Coast and in the Agoonah country, Major Maclean had remained at Mansu in charge, and directing the whole transport from there. But just before Colonel Colley's return he was seized with fever, and on the 17th January had to be invalided. This was a serious blow to the transport. His assistance had been invaluable, and it had been intended that he should go to the front on the 16th, to supervise the working of the transport there, and remain with the front during the advance. Now Colonel Colley had no officer of the same rank and experience. Ill-fortune seemed to follow the officers appointed to the transport, Captain Duncan and Captain Player being constantly incapacitated from fever, and Captain North, later, seriously wounded; so that Colonel Colley had often to go to the front when he was anxious to be superintending the whole transport from a more central point.

Up to the 17th January the whole efforts of the transport corps had been directed to completing the great dēpot of thirty days' supplies on the Prah; but this being now secured, the advance was resumed. Another day or two's delay would have been desirable to complete the organisation of the transport, which had been impeded by the work having to be carried on simultaneously with the collection of the carriers, and so getting the transport under weigh before the troops left Prahsu. But other and more important reasons—namely, the health of the troops, and the opportunity of occupying the Adansi hills—had caused the Major-General to advance, and the troops

moved from Prahsu about the same time that the transport which was to feed them moved from Mansu, so that it was some time before the latter could overtake them. However, three divisions were sufficiently formed, and one was in process of formation, for the transport duties beyond the Prah. These were almost entirely formed of the new carriers ; beyond re-arranging the tribes, Colonel Colley had avoided disturbing the old local transport, as they had settled down at the stations, and in many cases brought their families there.

On the 18th, the first division of the Trans-Prah transport, composed of Agoonahs under Captain Briscoe, left Mansu for Prahsu, its future station ; it was followed on the 19th by the second division, Abrahs, under Assistant-Commissary Elliot (later Lieutenant Jerrard), to form the second transport station at Acrofoomu ; and on the 20th by the third division, Acoomfies and Adjumacoes, under Lieutenant Barton, whose destination was Fommanah. The carriers required to accompany the native regiments and those for the reserve ammunition, &c., were furnished from the transport already formed at Prahsu and Barraco, the latter station being broken up. Colonel Colley went to Prahsu on the 19th to see that all transport arrangements for the advance were made, but returned to Mansu the following day to complete the general arrangements of the line of communication south of the Prah, and on the 22d he issued the following orders. Their object was to combine the transport stations with the hospital stations, already established along the line, and the general working of the transport with the arrangements for the carriage of sick and wounded drawn up by Dr Home. The great depot formed at the Prah being in itself almost sufficient to feed the troops during their march on to

Coomassie, the forwarding of supplies from Cape Coast to the Prah became a secondary consideration, while the carriage of the sick and wounded from the front to Cape Coast became of primary importance. Colonel Colley therefore altered the system of working, making the transport work back from each station, instead of forward as heretofore.

*“Transport Orders.*

*“MANSU, 22d January 1874.*

“The following transport arrangements will take effect from the dates hereafter specified :—

“1. *Cape Coast District.*—Only so many carriers will be maintained at Cape Coast as are necessary for station purposes and to meet sudden calls, such as officers ordered to the front, &c. The transport officer at the station must be guided by his experience, and the calls made upon him. In case of sudden demands for stores for the front, women should be engaged for the job to carry to Accroful, or, better still, to Mansu.

“Lieutenant Hillcoat, 1st Somerset Militia, will be transport officer in charge at Cape Coast.

“2. *Dunquah District.*—Dunquah will be broken up as a transport station, and the carriers distributed between Accroful and Yancoomassie Fanti, being divided according to tribes as far as possible. 500 will be stationed at Accroful, and will work back to Cape Coast Castle, one half at a time going empty or with hammocks, and returning with loads the following day.

“Lieutenant M'Carthy, 24th Regiment, will be the transport officer in charge at Accroful.

“3. 350 carriers will be stationed at Yancoomassie Fanti, and will work back to Accroful, going and returning

the same day ; those who carry hammocks going will return with empty hammocks only ; those who go empty returning with loads.

“ Lieutenant Liptrott, 104th Fusiliers, will be the transport officer in charge.

“ 4. *Mansu District*.—600 carriers will be stationed at Mansu. Of these, 350 will work back to Yancoomassie Fanti, going and returning the same day, as in preceding paragraph. The remaining 250 will form a reserve, available for any sudden call, but receiving pay only when employed, and at other times rations or subsistence money only.

“ Captain Sams, 64th Regiment, will be the transport officer in charge.

“ 5. 300 carriers, taken from the transport now at Mansu, will be stationed at Sutah, working between that and Mansu, going and returning in one day.

“ Lieutenant Clark, 29th Regiment, will be the transport officer in charge at Sutah.

“ 6. *Yancoomassie Assin District*.—400 carriers will be established at Yancoomassie, working back between that and Sutah ; going one day with or without sick, and returning the next day with loads.

“ Captain Fowler will be the transport officer in charge.

“ 7. Barraco will cease to be a transport station.

“ 8. *Prah District*.—600 carriers will be stationed at the Prah ; 400 working backwards, going to Yancoomassie Assin with or without sick, and returning the following day with loads ; the remaining 200 carrying loads forward to Essiaman, and returning the same day.

“ Captain Briscoe will be the transport officer in charge.

“ 9. A station of 300 carriers will be formed at Essia-

man from the Adjumacoes now collected at Mansu, working back to Prahsu, going and returning the same day.

"10. A station with 600 carriers will be formed at Accrofoomu, working back to Essiaman, going and returning in one day.

"Assistant-Commissary Elliot will be in charge.

"11. A station with 800 carriers will be formed at Moinsey or Quisah, under Captain North and Lieutenant Jerrard, and will work partly back and partly forward, according to the movement of the troops and arrangements made regarding the regimental transport.

"12. The numbers given above include women who carry loads ; but the proportion of men at each station must be enough to supply ninety hammock-bearers daily, with a margin of one-third for accidents.

"13. Officers in charge will bear in mind that the transport of the sick to the rear now takes precedence of everything. The required hammock-bearers will be selected and detailed every morning before anything else is attended to.

"14. The number of hammocks sent down each day will depend upon the number of sick, but will in no case exceed fifteen in one day, unless by special authority from the Transport Headquarters. This is exclusive of hammocks required for officers or others travelling express, which must be provided from the reserve of hammocks. The establishment of hammocks at each station will be forty—viz., thirty-five for hospital, and five for general purposes.

"15. Both hammocks and bearers must in all cases be returned at once to the stations to which they belong. This cannot be too strongly insisted on. If officers take it on themselves to detain or take on hammocks and

bearers, it is impossible to maintain any regularity or organisation in the transport. Transport officers are requested, therefore, to report at once any cases of detention of their men.

“16. At those stations where the carriers go and return in one day, those who go down with sick will always return unloaded, and, as a rule, the carriers will have one day's rest in three. At those stations where the journey takes two days, those who went down with sick will bring back loads, and the carriers will not require such frequent rest; but the transport officer will allow one occasional day's rest, and equalise the work as far as possible among the men. Only one-half will go down each day.

“17. The Dunquah transport will be broken up on the 24th, and on the 25th commence the new system. The Mansu transport will commence on the 26th. The 300 men for Šutah will leave Mansu with loads on the 24th, and commence working back on the 25th.

“The Yancoomassie Assin transport will commence working back on the 25th.

“18. The station at Accrofoomu, across the Prah, will be formed on the 23d; that at Moinsey or Quisah on the 25th; that at Essiaman about the 27th.

“19. At those stations where the existing numbers are much in excess of establishment, they may be reduced gradually by discharging weakly or unwilling men.

“20. The transport officer at each station will keep the one next up the line informed daily—by special runner, if necessary—of the number of loads he has, or expects to have, to send on, to avoid carriers being sent down unnecessarily.

“21. Special attention is requested to way-bills and

passes. No party should, under any circumstances, be allowed to proceed without a writing to show their numbers, destination, and what they are carrying.

“22. A daily state, according to the form already established, will be sent in from each station.

“23. The Transport Headquarters will be at Prahsu, whither all states and reports will be addressed.”

On the 24th January the fourth and last transport division started. It was principally composed of Goom-oahs, who had come from a greater distance than the others. This division was ultimately established at Insarfu, under Lieutenant Vander Meulen, and part of it accompanied the force into Coomassie. On the same day Colonel Colley started for the front himself, and handed over the charge of the transport south of the Prah to Captain Sams, the transport officer at Mansu.



## CHAPTER III.

MOVEMENTS OF THE FORCES UNDER CAPTAINS GLOVER, BUTLER, AND DALRYMPLE, TO THE DATE OF THE PASSAGE OF THE ADANSI HILLS BY SIR GARNET WOLSELEY—EFFECT OF THESE COLUMNS IN CREATING DIVERSIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE MAIN COLUMN.

WE left Captain Glover on the 28th of December, having recrossed the Volta with his disciplined troops, guns, and stores, *en route* to Medica, having sent Captain Sartorius to Eastern Akim, and expressed his expectation of arriving on the Prah by the 10th January with a force of Houssas and Yorubas, numbering 700 men.

Captain Glover's next despatch was dated Odumassie, 2d January. He had arrived there with 814 Houssas and Yorubas, and had sent on 346 Houssas and Yorubas to Akropong, *en route* for Kibbi. Captain Sartorius was in Eastern Akim. Captain Glover said that on the morning of the 10th he should be at Akropong, ten hours' march from the Prah, with probably 850 men out of his total of 1075. His staff had not yet come up, but provisions, stores, and ammunition were arriving. Captain Glover announced that he had abandoned the route by Bagoro, and intended striking the Prah in a straight line between Kibbi and Lake Boosum Echuy, thence making for Abogoo, and from there turning either to Lake Boosum Echuy, or northwards to Coomassie, if the Major-General had already advanced so

far as Boosum Echuy. "Want of transport," Captain Glover said, "is a great obstacle to certain or rapid movement, but I am expecting 500 carriers from Eastern Akim, and as the road is nearly completed from Kibbi to Akropong, I may hope to be on the Prah with sufficient stores and ammunition to make an onward movement by the 15th instant. What number of native allies I may be enabled to bring up it is impossible to estimate. Eastern Croboe will furnish a contingent under Chief Sakkity, and Eastern Akim will turn out some considerable number. Beyond this, I can state nothing reliable."

On the 6th January, Captain Glover wrote from Akropong. 700 of his disciplined troops had advanced from that point, and 150 more were to follow the next day. The country through which Captain Glover was passing, he reported as being utterly denuded of men, and the women were afraid to move from their houses during the absence of their husbands. Eastern Croboe had promised 3000 men, but Captain Glover doubted getting 300—if, indeed, one man. Transport was evidently still his great difficulty. Captain Sartorius was endeavouring to send him 500 carriers from Akim, and he was getting ammunition and stores down to the foot of the mountain, three hours from Akropong, beyond which point the women carriers would not proceed. Captain Glover acknowledged the receipt of the despatch conveying to him instructions as to his advancing on Juabin, and not crossing the river Dah; and spoke of the great difficulty he experienced from the nature of the tracks, the mountain paths being little better than watercourses, with boulder rocks, much damaging the feet of his troops.

In the mean time, Captain Chatfield, with H.M.S. Amethyst and Decoy, had proceeded to the Volta, with a

view to the protection of the magazines at Addah, concerning which Captain Glover had expressed great anxiety. He reported that he could see no foundation whatever for the rumour that the Ahwoonahs intended to attack Addah. He had inspected the magazines and stores, and found them situated in an open plain, and easily to be defended by a few men. Mr Adamson, R.N., had 200 men and abundance of arms and ammunition, besides a Gatling gun and a howitzer for the defence of the post. Mr Goldsworthy, with 12,000 men, had gone across the Ahwoonah country to Quittah, to settle the Ahwoonahs, peaceably or otherwise, as he found best ; and no signs of a camp were anywhere visible on the left bank of the river.

On the 8th, Captain Glover arrived at Kibbi, and in acknowledging the receipt of another copy of the despatch conveying to him orders for his march, received through Captain Butler, said that he could not refrain from pointing out that with so small a force as that which would accompany him, it would be difficult to carry any place occupied by the enemy in force without setting it on fire, unless by sacrifice to his force. This was the only exception taken by Captain Glover to his orders ; and he stated that his movements and the course of action marked out for him, should be carried into effect strictly in accordance with his instructions so far as circumstances might permit. 600 men left Kibbi on the 10th for Assum, and 200 men on the 11th. The route from Kibbi to Assum was most unfavourable, from mud, trees, and the closeness of the path. Captain Glover wrote from Kibbi to Captain Butler, enclosing for his information the following routes from Kibbi to Coomassie :—

## ROUTES TO COOMASSIE.

1. *From Kibbi.*

To Assum,	.	.	two days.
„ Prah,	.	.	
„ Abogoo,	.	.	6 A.M. to 5 P.M.
„ Conomo,	.	.	6 A.M. to 5 P.M.
„ Numaenie,	.	.	6 A.M. to 5 P.M.
From Numaenie to Juabin,			6 A.M. to noon.
„ „			Coomassie, 6 A.M. to 5 P.M.

2. *From Kibbi.*

To Pampra,	.	6 A.M. to 1 P.M. (large village).
„ Assum,	.	6 A.M. to 4 P.M. (do.)
„ Prah,	.	
„ Abogoo,	.	6 A.M. to 5 P.M. (do.)
„ Apassa	.	6 A.M. to noon (not very large).
„ Boosum Echuy,		6 A.M. to 3 P.M. (large villages).

Road good, but bush.

3. *From Kibbi.*

To Pampra,	6 A.M. to 1 P.M. (large village.)
„ Assum,	6 A.M. to 4 P.M. (do.)
„ Prah,	.
„ Abogoo,	6 A.M. to 5 P.M. (do.)
„ Odumassie,	6 A.M. to 4 P.M. (do.)
„ Bosankra,	6 A.M. to 5 P.M. (do.)
„ Duahtebée,	6 A.M. to 3 P.M. (do.)
„ Coomassie,	6 A.M. to 1 P.M.

Road good, but bush.

It will be seen that all these routes pass through Abogoo; and Captain Glover stated that he intended, should he be able, to take the most direct and easternmost one by Abogoo and Numaenie. He announced his intention of crossing the Prah on the 15th with a force of 800 Houssas and Yorubas. The King of Eastern Akim was to follow two or three days after with a force of perhaps 500 to 1000 men.

On the 11th Captain Glover received a letter from the

Major-General, dated on the 8th at Prahsu, informing him of Captain Chatfield's report of the safety of his magazines on the Volta, and of our unopposed advance to a point beyond Ansah, and approving of his crossing the Prah before the 15th should he be able and consider it desirable to do so. In reply he sent a letter dated from the forest three marches from the Prah. "My object is to advance direct on Coomassie if I obtain transport from Akim. It is more than I expect." And on the 14th, having reached Boohmahninsu, four hours' march from the river Prah, he reported that on the following day he would be north of the Prah with 744 effective Houssas and Yorubas. Dr Rowe and Mr Ponsonby, R.N., were bringing up 170 more effectives, with stores and ammunition, and the King of Eastern Akim was four hours' march in rear; but no dependence could be placed on the strength of the force he might bring up. In this despatch, which was addressed to Captain Butler, Captain Glover expressed his intention of occupying Abogoo on the 15th or 16th, and halting there a day or two for spare ammunition and stores. The despatch then went on, "My advance will be directed on Coomassie or Juabin as circumstances may permit."

In reply to these letters, Captain Glover was reminded by the Major-General that no portion of the force under his orders was to advance beyond Juabin, or, should he be unable to reach that place, nearer than six miles from Coomassie, and that on halting he was immediately to try and get into communication with the Major-General.

Captain Glover had pushed on thus far by forced marches over a difficult and most mountainous country, and from want of transport was short of both ammunition and provisions.

On the 15th of January at noon, keeping his tryst to a moment, Captain Glover crossed the Prah with 568 Houssas and Yorubas, having been preceded in the morning by Captain Sartorius and Lieutenant Barnard with 180 men. No enemy was seen, and reconnaissances were pushed along roads leading westward, and to Abogoo. At daybreak on the 16th, Lieutenant Barnard, with 100 Houssas, started to clear the road; and at 8 A.M. Captain Glover followed, with Captain Sartorius and 570 Houssas and Yorubas. The route lay through the forest by a fair bush pathway. At noon a small village of eight huts was occupied, the people escaping, with the exception of two prisoners, who were taken; and at three o'clock in the afternoon the advanced party, under Lieutenant Barnard, was fired upon, the guide being wounded. As the troops approached Abogoo an hour later, a sharp fire was opened upon them, but the village was taken by a rush; and the enemy fell back along the road in rear, said to lead to Juabin, three or four long marches distant. Six Houssas and one Yoruba were wounded in this skirmish. Abogoo was a village of 200 huts, closely surrounded by forest, from which Captain Glover's sentries were fired upon, both on the night of the 16th and the morning of the 17th.

Having with him only 6720 spare rounds of Snider ammunition—scarcely 10 rounds a man—and no great supply of Enfield ammunition, Captain Glover felt bound to remain at Abogoo until more should arrive. "Owing," he wrote, "to the difficulty of obtaining carriers, and the mountainous nature of the route from this to the Volta, I find myself in a position which will not enable me to advance until ammunition and stores have come up."

The difficulties of this march must have been great, continuous ranges of mountains having been crossed. Captain Glover had indeed done well in thus far carrying out Sir Garnet Wolseley's instructions, to which he had loyally conformed against his own opinion and in the face of great difficulties.

Captain Glover remained at Abogoo till the 26th of January, receiving supplies of ammunition, and pushing out reconnaissances in every direction. On the 21st, he had still only 58 spare rounds of Snider ammunition per rifle, and 55 spare rounds of Enfield per rifle. On the 17th a broad road leading northwards from Abogoo was reconnoitred, but found to end only in farms. On the 18th and two following days reconnaissances were made three or four miles in the direction of Conomo, and five or six miles to the left flank and the left rear, without any signs of an enemy being seen.

On the 19th, the chief of Assum came into camp with 120 men ; and on the 20th, the King of Eastern Akim with about 350. On the 19th Dr Bale, R.N., died at Assum from climatic fever and dysentery. Captain Glover wrote—" His kindness and genial disposition had endeared him to all. He had not only been of great use as a medical officer, but since Lieutenant Cameron's illness on the 27th December, he had commanded the advanced detachment of the force up to its arrival at Assum.

On the 21st a reconnaissance was made ten miles to the left rear, by a detachment of troops under Captain Larcom ; and the King of Eastern Akim drove out the enemy from the village of Bansu, eleven miles on the left flank, burning the village, and having four of his men wounded in the skirmish. On the 23d, Lieutenant

Barnard, with a force of 160 Houssas and Yorubas, and 200 Akims, with some rocket-troughs, under Mr. Ponsonby, R.N., occupied Bansu, and the next day drove out the enemy from Jaashie, ten miles to the south-west of Odumassie, with a view to opening up communications with Captain Butler, whose force Captain Glover considered was probably not more than four hours to the westward of his own. Abogoo was calculated by Captain Glover to be in latitude  $6^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $57^{\circ} 30'$  west.

It remains now to state the circumstances under which the columns of Captain Butler and Captain Dalrymple had to act. We will deal first with that of Captain Butler.

Already, before the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Captain Glover had summoned King Quabina Fuah of Western Akim to meet him at Accra, and had sent a native gentleman, Mr Hesse, as commissioner to him. Mr Hesse left Accra on the 16th of September, and reached Insuyem, the temporary capital of Western Akim, on the 23d. He was not allowed to see the king until the 26th, the king accounting for the delay by saying that it had been necessary for him to assemble his principal chiefs and captains. Mr Hesse informed the king that his presence was requested at Accra, to meet the kings and chiefs of the Eastern district, and to consult with them as to the best means of combining against the common enemy. The king and his chiefs, Mr Hesse says, received the message with undisguised joy, and expressed their willingness to go to Accra "in three weeks' time." In the mean time, however, Sir Garnet Wolseley had instructed Captain Glover that the Western Akims were not to be summoned to Accra, as Sir Garnet



himself required them for the purpose of an advance by way of Prahsu Akim, and Captain Glover had informed Mr Hesse that King Quabina Fuah was in future to look to Cape Coast for instructions, and not to Accra. The following letter was addressed by Sir Garnet Wolseley to the king and men of West Akim :—

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE COAST, 5th October 1873.

“To Queen Amoquah and King Quabina Fuah.

“Her Majesty the Queen of England has sent me to aid you in your struggle with your hereditary foes the Ashantis. In order that I may do so effectually, she has graciously placed me in command of the troops of the whole of her West African Settlements, and has intrusted me also with the administration of this her settlement on the Gold Coast.

“I now, therefore, in order that we may co-operate effectually together for the defeat of the enemy, claim your ready and willing obedience as good allies of Her Majesty to do all that I require of you.

“I desire that you both, with Coffee Ahencora, the Queen’s son, with all your kings and chiefs, and with all your fighting men, assemble as soon as possible after this reaches you at Dunquah. I beg you to note that the place of assemblage is not Accra, but that you are to go at once to Dunquah, any orders you may have previously received from any one else notwithstanding. At Dunquah you will find an English officer who will inform me of your wants, in order that I may supply you with the munitions of war. I trust with your loyal conjunction ere long to drive the Ashantis out of all Fanti territory, and, if you support me with all your power, to chase them into their own country, and inflict such a blow on them as shall enforce

peace on them for all time to come.—I am, King and Queen, very truly yours,

“G. J. WOLSELEY,  
“Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty’s West African  
Army, and Administrator of the Gold Coast.

“To Queen Amoquah and King Quabina  
Fuah of Akim Swaidroo.”

Mr Hesse reports to Captain Glover that, on receipt of his later orders, the kings and their chiefs at first declared their determination not to place themselves again in connection with the Fantis in the field, as they considered that they had been badly treated by the Fantis, and even by their relations the Denkeras in the late campaign, and that their place in the time of war was with the Accras and not with the Fantis. Mr Hesse, however, persuaded the king to give up the idea of coming to Accra, and the king consented, saying that he was desirous of proving to Sir Garnet Wolseley that he was loyal to the Queen, and anxious to obey all orders issued by the General. The king, however, had much difficulty in inducing his chiefs to agree to this, as they complained bitterly of the heavy losses they suffered in consequence of not being properly supported by the Fantis. The king and his chiefs at length decided that they would wait for one week after Mr Hesse’s departure, and if no officer came to them from Cape Coast, go down to Accra. The day after Mr Hesse left, Sir Garnet Wolseley’s letter reached King Quabina Fuah, and he sent after Mr Hesse to inform him that he considered it necessary to visit Accra before proceeding to Dunquah. He stated that he had some very important plans as to the war in his head, and was anxious to meet with the Accras, Aquapims, and other allies. He told

Mr Hesse that he had the most positive information that Coomassie was denuded of troops, and that if the Ashanti force now in Fanti could be crushed, the king could offer little or no resistance to an army invading his dominions, and King Quabina Fuah with the aid of reliable allies would undertake to crush the enemy's force in Jooquah.

We shall see presently what this gallant king, who undertook to crush the enemy if only he were provided with reliable allies, was when the time came for a movement against the enemy. There is little or no doubt that the King of Western Akim preferred going to Accra because it took him out of the way of the enemy, whereas Dunquah would have brought him into the enemy's vicinity, and there is no doubt whatever that he had heard of the large presents that Captain Glover was giving to the kings at Accra.

On receipt of the information that King Quabina Fuah was determined to go to Accra, Sir Garnet Wolseley instructed Captain Butler to proceed to Accra, and thence to meet the king. The following instructions were issued to Captain Butler :—

*“Instructions for Captain Butler, late 69th Regiment, who has been selected by the Major-General Commanding to proceed on a Special Mission to the King of Western Akim.*

“You will proceed on the 3d instant, in one of her Majesty's men-of-war, to Accra, *en route* for Western Akim, to the king of which country you are accredited as a Special Commissioner in connection with certain correspondence that has taken place between his Excellency the Governor, Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley,

K.C.M.G., C.B., and the kings, queen, and chiefs of that district.

“You are empowered to offer the same terms to the kings and chiefs of Western Akim that have been promised to the other kings. You will take with you £100 for your own expenses. Copies of the Proclamation lately issued are enclosed for distribution by you to the kings and chiefs, and you will use your best endeavours to raise the whole of the fighting men in Western Akim, for the purpose of closing in upon Amanquatia’s army as it is endeavouring to recross the river Prah into Ashanti.

“You are fully aware of the position of affairs here at present, and you will not fail to keep the Major-General well informed, every two or three days, through Mansu, of your movements, and how you succeed in your mission.

“Your messengers will be paid at Mansu, on an authority from you, whatever sums you may consider necessary for carrying your despatches. It is impossible to give you more precise instructions ; accordingly, there is nothing to add further than that the Major-General relies upon your zeal and discretion, and on your knowledge of barbarous people, to carry out quickly the objects of this most important mission which has been confided to you.

“By Command.

(Signed) “J. D. BAKER,

*“ Acting Chief of the Staff.*

“HEADQUARTERS, CAPE COAST, *November 2, 1873.*”

A large supply of arms and ammunition had been sent by Captain Glover to the king of Western Akim ; but it was expressly explained to the king that these arms were for the purpose of enabling him to fight under the orders of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and not of Captain Glover ; and

from the moment when Sir Garnet's instructions reached Captain Glover, that officer used every effort to induce King Quabina Fuah to place himself under the orders of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

On the 28th October, hearing that the king was within two days' march of Accra, Captain Glover wrote to him to hurry down to Accra, thinking that would be the quickest way to get hold of him ; but on the 4th of November, when Captain Butler arrived at Accra, King Quabina Fuah had still not come in, though Captain Glover was waiting for him. Captain Butler immediately despatched a messenger to him, announcing his coming, and informing him that he would stay with him through the war. "We will march together," wrote Captain Butler, "against the enemy. We will fall upon the Ashantis as they fly across the Prah, driven off by the victorious English General. Let your chiefs and head-men assemble—let all your fighting men come together—let only the cowards and women stay at home." Alas ! Captain Butler found before long that there were none but cowards and women in the whole of Western Akim.

It will be seen that the immediate object with which Captain Butler was sent to the Western Akims was to induce them to march in force upon the flank and rear of the retreating Ashanti army ; and, after Abrakrampa, if the Western Akims had mustered in force and had shown the courage and resolution necessary to march upon Prahsu at the same time that our forces were pressing on the rear of the Ashantis, the difficulties of the retreat must have been immensely increased, and the enemy must at least have been headed off from the main road, and forced to cut paths through the bush, and seek a more difficult and dangerous crossing. But we shall see what progress Captain Butler made with his mission.

On the 5th November he left Accra, and on the 6th met messengers from the king on their way to that city. They urged him to wait where he was for the king's coming ; but he sent them back to the king, and continued his journey to meet him, which he did on the 7th.

Captain Butler thus described the meeting : " We met in an open space at the entrance of the village. He was surrounded by his chiefs and soldiers, and preceded by drums, adorned with many skulls. Two mace-bearers stood on either side, bearing maces made of human jaw-bones, the teeth of which formed the outer surface of the bludgeons. I received him with all the ceremony possible—the Union Jack unfolded. I read and explained the letter of his Excellency, and the proclamations relative to the recent movements against the Ashantis ; and then I urged upon him the necessity of taking immediate steps to intercept the enemy at the Prah. All was of no use—he humbly begged my pardon, and the pardon of his Excellency, and the pardon of the Queen, but he must first go to Accra to do fetish. During nearly two hours I made use of nearly all the arguments which are supposed to sway the savage mind. I told him that his name and fame had gone before him to the ears of the Governor at Cape Coast, that people said of him he was ever forward against the enemy, and that now Accra was held by women, and the enemy was seven days' journey behind. All was of no avail—he most humbly begged pardon ; but he must go to Accra. He appeared sorely puzzled and distressed, and seemed to labour under a belief in the imperative necessity of his going first to Accra. Then I told him that I would go on alone to Akim and rouse up his people. He said that he would only stay one day in Accra, and would follow me quickly to Akim ; that his generals and his army were still at home, and that they

would do all I wished if I should arrive before him. So we parted."

The next day Captain Butler proceeded on his journey, and wrote with that grand confidence in the finer qualities of human nature, and in the nobility of savage instincts when unspoiled by civilisation—a confidence bred of his intercourse with the Indian of North America—"I am still confident that I will raise in this people a certain fighting ardour."

On the 9th, Captain Butler held a conference with King Yadadoo of Agoonah and his chiefs at Insaban, and requested them to assemble their force at Akim Swaidroo, promising them arms and ammunition to a certain extent. They promised to furnish 2000 men.

Captain Butler then moved to Enyacroom and found there King Coffee Ahencora awaiting him with a considerable retinue. He also was bound for Accra. He had a great grievance,—the arms and ammunition sent from Accra on the 9th of October had all gone to his rival King Quabina Fuah. Nothing had come to him, King Coffee Ahencora—he had done much fighting against the Ashantis in the summer, more than King Quabina Fuah, and how was it that he was forgotten? Captain Butler promised him that arms and ammunition should be obtained for him from Mansu; but again and again he returned to his grievance; so Captain Butler gave him four of his own rifles, and three sovereigns, as a present, and told him he might send his carriers at once to Mansu for arms. Captain Butler described him as an intelligent man, having evidently a good deal of authority with the people. He wished to wait longer at Enyacroom, but Captain Butler did all in his power to make him move at once.

On the 10th of November Captain Butler had another interview with this king, and succeeded at last in persuading him to return with him to Akim Swaidroo, and to proceed with the calling in of his men. "It is slow work," wrote Captain Butler, "but I tell a little each time upon these suspicious natives. Captain Glover's dashes, and the unlimited distribution of rum at Accra, have long since reached here, and at present I have only my oft-repeated word against these very practical impressions. I must urgently request that supplies of ammunition and rum be sent to me at the earliest moment. I feel sure I can make something of King Coffee Ahencora. There is considerable rivalry between him and King Quabina Fuah, which I must turn to advantage."

Accompanying this letter from Captain Butler was a requisition for 500 guns and ammunition, £100 in silver, 20 gallons of rum, and a quantity of tobacco. These were all sent, as requested, by way of Mansu.

On the following day, after moving some distance with the king, Captain Butler was seized with fever, which for three days and nights held him in its iron grip; but on the 14th he was able to move as far as Braqua. Of course the king, though requested by Captain Butler to go on in advance and collect his people, would not do so, being only too glad of any excuse for delay.

On the 16th, Captain Butler reached Akim Swaidroo, and on the following day visited Amoquah, the mother of King Coffee Ahencora. There was always the same result to each interview. Captain Butler urged action, and met with ready verbal acquiescence—anything, in short, but execution. "The fact is patent," he wrote, "that these people, whether they be called Fantis, or Assins, or Akims, are all alike in their total want of any-



thing approaching to soldier-like qualities. If they cannot possibly avoid fighting, they will fight ; but I doubt much if it will ever be found possible to retain them for any length of time in the field. In Captain Glover's case, so long as his operations are confined to the left bank of the Volta, he will have no reason to fear the abandonment of his native allies, because his boats on the river can prevent them recrossing to their own shore. In dealing with the various kings and chiefs here, I have made frequent mention of the bravery and readiness with which some other kings and tribes have come forward in this struggle. This pardonable, but somewhat false statement, has usually met with the same reply—namely, that the king or chief present is also a very brave man, and ever ready to fight ; but the only readiness I have noticed, is one to profit by the necessities of the occasion, and to obtain arms and ammunition as soon as possible."

Captain Butler's intention at this time was, if he could collect any force, to strike in upon the main road, somewhere between Faisowah and Prahsu ; and if he could have done this any time in the next ten days, he would, as we know, have struck directly upon the flank of the retreating Ashanti army, whose rear body did not leave Faisowah till the 27th of November, when they hurried off by torchlight after Colonel Wood's reconnaissance.

At Akim Swaidroo, Captain Glover was again confined to his hut by fever, and King Coffee Ahencora took advantage of his position to procrastinate and make fresh demands for arms and money. Seeing the uselessness of going on in this manner, and feeling worse instead of better in health, Captain Butler started off for Mansu, urging upon the king to collect his men during his absence. The king endeavoured to throw obstacles in his

way, and Captain Butler told him that if he would give him 300 or 400 men he would march to Prahsu instead of to Mansu ; but the king would not do so. "I cannot express to you," he wrote, "what a bitter disappointment this delay has been to me. I pushed on from Accra under many difficulties, and reached Swaidroo weak with fever ; but through it all, the hope of a rapid movement on the Prah sustained and strengthened me. After four days of utter inactivity, I find myself condemned to an indefinite delay in the same miserable surroundings."

Captain Butler now wrote to Quabina Fuah, Coffee Ahencora, and Yadadoo, asking them to send as many men as they could get together to Accassi on the 30th of November, with which he hoped to move on Amponsi Quanta, on the main Prahsu road, hoping still to be in time to catch the Ashantis on the move. "You urge haste," Captain Butler wrote, "on the part of the Akims ; they do not know what it means. Ten days and one day are the same to them. I am just twenty days too late. The work I am now engaged on should have been accomplished ten days ago, and even then it would not have been too soon for these wretched people."

On the 23d November Captain Butler reached Mansu, and started again for Accassi on the 30th, having in the mean time visited Sutah after Colonel Wood's action. He arrived at Accassi on the 3d December, and found King Coffee Ahencora with a small body of followers ; but neither the Agoonahs nor King Quabina Fuah's people had arrived. He expressed himself in no measured terms as to King Coffee Ahencora's delay, and announced his intention of countermanding the remainder of his present of arms until he had some proof that the Akims were soldiers, and not cowards, who stayed at home while all others

went to war ; but the toughness of the native hide against such arguments as these may be gathered from the following correspondence which passed at the same time between Captain Butler and King Quabina Fuah :—

“ESSECOOMA, 21st November 1873.

“To King Quabina Fuah.

“While you have been foolishly wasting your time at Accra, where only old men and women remain, the whole of Fanti, and Assin, and Wassaw, and Tchuful have been fighting and driving the Ashantis towards the Prah. What will men say of Quabina Fuah ? They will say that when all were at war, he did not fight. Will you let this be said of you ? You have a brave name. Come to me *at once* to Accassi if you would still make men think you a brave king. I will still be your friend if you join me at Accassi on the 29th, with all the men you can get together. I will pay you well, and write to the General to tell him you are a brave king.

“W. F. BUTLER.”

“CHRISTIANSBURG, ACCRA, 26th November 1873.

“Captain W. F. Butler.

“DEAR SIR,—King Quabina Fuah has been received yours of the 22d inst., and the contents read to satisfaction.

“I was directed by his Majesty the King to inform you that he is preparing to start on Saturday, and will arrive there on Tuesday next week ; but he is very sorry to hear the People have fought with the Ashantis in his absence. However, you shall soon see him, and hope you will give him good and brave name ; and moreover, to praise him before the English General as a brave king.

“I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“Pro King Quabina Fuah,

“JOHN BUABIN.”

Captain Butler obtained information from a scouting-party, which King Coffee Ahencora had sent to the main road, that the Ashanti army was actually recrossing the Prah at the end of November; and some movement on the part of the Akims might naturally be now expected, as the enemy had gone out of reach, and there could be nothing more to fear.

Curiously enough, Captain Butler found that the town of Accassi, at which he ordered the Western Akims to assemble, belonged to King Attah, of Eastern Akim; and Captain Butler sent a summons to this king, who very properly replied that he was acting under Captain Glover. It is scarcely necessary to add that, in sending this summons, Captain Butler was acting under a mistaken impression of his orders, and not in accordance with the views of the Major-General.

On the morning of the 5th, Captain Butler started for Accassi with a few scouts, unaccompanied by any of the kings, for Akrapon, a point nearly due east of Yancoomassie-Assin. By this time Quabina Fuah was on his way back to Accra, and Captain Butler played him against Coffee Ahencora, threatening to hand over all the arms and ammunition to him if Coffee Ahencora did not arrive on the 8th at Akrapon; and with such success that on the 8th, the day named, the king arrived with a straggling collection of followers. Captain Butler again suffered from fever, and wrote,—“I now find that a long hard day through swamps is almost certain to be followed by fever.” On the morning of the 10th December, Captain Butler arrived by way of Yancoomassie-Assin at Prahsu, accompanied by some fifteen men, and found, as we know, that the Ashantis were already across the river.

So ended the effort to move the Western Akims against the flank and rear of the retreating Ashanti army.

A new mission was now intrusted to Captain Butler. His efforts had hitherto been directed, with what ill success we are aware, to inducing the Western Akims to fall upon the flank and rear of the Ashanti army in their retreat through the Protectorate to the Prah ; he was now, by a letter from headquarters, dated the 15th Dec., informed that if he could get together a sufficient number of men to allow of his moving independently by the road from Akim Prahsu, the Major-General wished him to advance by that line into Ashanti, keeping up communication as frequently as possible with the headquarters. He was to reply, with the least possible delay, whether this line of action was feasible or not, and to state what numbers he considered that he could probably obtain. On the 17th, Captain Butler replied, from Yancoomassie-Assin, to the effect that he thought, within the time at his disposal, before the 15th January, the date named, a force of not less than 2000 Akims could be collected for an advance into Ashanti ; and he named a point on the Prah which he proposed to cross with these troops if he could collect them. Before committing himself, however, to this programme, he deemed it better to revisit Akim, and on the 18th he commenced his journey. Captain Paget, Scots Fusilier Guards, Captain Brabazon, late Grenadier Guards, and Lieutenant M'Gregor, 50th Regiment, who came out for special-service duties, were attached to Captain Butler's command for the purposes of this mission. On the 23d, Captain Butler held a long palaver at Accassi with King Quabina Fuah, who swore to do all that was required of him, begged pardon for his previous misdemeanours, promised to bring all his men together at Iribee by the 2d January, and to march wherever he was ordered. King Coffee Ahencora made similar promises as regarded his

future behaviour, and vowed that he would collect his men at Iribee by New-Year's Day. Both kings, however, professed themselves unable to give any estimate of the number which they could collect ; but Captain Butler, still retaining a lingering remnant of faith that a certain amount of good must exist in every human nature, thought he might reckon upon from 1500 to 2000 Akims assembling at Iribee by the 3d or 4th of January, and considered that it would be advisable to proceed with the independent movement.

He suggested crossing the Prah near Amantea on the 15th January, the date named, which would afford time for further consideration of the subject after the muster on the 2d. He proposed now to hand over the remainder of the original present of arms which he had hitherto kept back, and asked for an additional supply, for which he would send carriers to Dunquah, whence they were to be brought under charge of Lieutenant M'Gregor. It may be as well to state at once that a large additional supply of ammunition was sent to Captain Butler, as also a rocket-trough and some rockets, at his request. Captain Butler was fully informed of the Major-General's proceedings and intentions, and received orders, similar to those addressed to Captain Glover, that he was not on any account to go into Coomassie, or to enter into any negotiations with the enemy, but was to send any messengers from the King of Ashanti to the headquarters of the Major-General. He was desired, moreover, to keep up constant communication with the main body.

On the 6th January, Captain Butler wrote from Iribee, which he had only reached on that day. A dispute had arisen between Kings Quabina Euah and Coffee Ahencora regarding their claims to the services of a chief of Awissa ;

and it was with no little difficulty that the matter was, for the time at all events, arranged without actual violence between the rival parties. It was only by taking the chief with himself, and leaving the dispute to be settled at the end of the war, that Captain Butler succeeded in getting the kings to depart for their respective kingdoms to collect their men, each having vowed that unless this chief went with him no movement should take place on his part. Captain Paget and Lieutenant M'Gregor were left at Insuyem and Accassi to hasten the departure of the chiefs, and to forward arms and ammunition to Iribee. Captain Brabazon was ill with fever. Captain Butler reported Iribee to be about eight miles south of the Prah. He now opened communication with Captain Glover, and the Major-General sent communications to this latter officer in duplicate through Captain Butler, as well as round by Accra. Kings Quabina Fuah and Coffee Ahencora arrived on the 6th and 7th January with a very limited number of followers, but promising large numbers to come. Though still quarrelling with each other, the news of the preparations which were being made at Assin Prahsu for the crossing of the white troops, brought to them by their own people, appeared to be inspiring them with some earnestness in their actions. King Coffee Ahencora proceeded to Beronassie on the 8th; and Captain Butler offered large rewards to his people for any Ashanti prisoners whom they could bring in, in order that he might get information regarding the tracks on the north side of the Prah.

Captain Paget and Lieutenant M'Gregor were now both suffering from fever; and as there was no doctor with the force, Captain Butler desired Captain Paget, who

was very ill, to proceed to Prahsu, which he did, returning shortly afterwards to join Captain Butler.

On the 10th January, in reply to a letter from the Major-General, informing him that if ready to do so he might cross the Prah earlier than the 15th, Captain Butler replied that it would be impossible to do so ; and again spoke of the discouragements and difficulties which attended him. "My situation," he wrote, "is simply this : Coffee Ahencora, with several chiefs and some 200 followers, is at Beronassie, close to the Prah ; Quabina Fuah is in this town with only a few followers. To repeated and urgent calls for haste, he replies that his men are on the road ; that they will be here in a day or two ; that he has sent fresh messengers to call them ; &c. &c. I have told him that our days are as fixed as the sun ; that when we name a date, it is kept to the moment ; that the main advance was already across the Prah ; that he was losing money and good name by this delay. But of what use are the arguments and impulses which actuate human nature when the groundwork of that nature is so utterly animal as to be capable of acting only under one motive—that of fear ? This motive I cannot work on. Alone, it is not in my power to coerce these people. I have still four days before me. On the 15th inst. I will cross the Prah ; but whether it shall be with 2000 men or only a few hundreds, I cannot now possibly determine."

On the 13th January, Captain Butler himself reached Beronassie, reporting on the 14th that King Coffee Ahencora was there with about 250 men ; that about the same number were with Quabina Fuah at Iribee ; and that many small parties were coming in ; but to what



number they might amount, he was quite unable to state. Quabina Fuah did not even promise to be at the Prah till the 17th. Captain Butler's scouts had already crossed the river, and found Amantea on the opposite bank deserted.

Now Captain Butler's orders from the Major-General were imperative—that he was to cross the Prah with such force as he could command on the 15th January, the Major-General's object being to create by the semblance of force, even if the force did not exist, a diversion in favour of the main body under his own command by whom the real work of the campaign must eventually be done. Accordingly, Captain Butler did cross to the north bank of the Prah on the day named, but without one Akim. Writing from the north bank of the Prah, he said, "No amount of persuasion, or pressure of threat, or promise, could induce the Akims at Beronassie to move here and cross the river. They advanced twenty different excuses, all of which had been anticipated by me in palavers during the last month over and over again." They now named the 17th January as the day for crossing; and Captain Butler said that he should remain on the north bank till that day, and then, "having stretched the endurance of these miserable beings to a limit difficult to comprehend by any person not similarly situated," if delay was again demanded he should leave them and go to Prahsu. He expressed, at the same time, but little hope of any success. This letter was received at headquarters at Prahsu on the 19th January; and in reply the Major-General wrote letters to the two Akim kings, threatening them with the severest penalties should they refuse to cross the Prah. At the same time he urged upon Captain Butler to continue to

do all in his power to that end. "He does not wish you to run any risks," ran the letter, "but to advance cautiously, scouting well before you, and spreading in every possible way the news that a large force is following in your rear. The object is, that the news should reach Coomassie that an army is advancing on your line." This letter did not reach Captain Butler for some days, and in the mean time he had taken the following steps: On the 18th, the kings, at his summons, crossed the river to the north bank; and he told them that he required them to make a march on Moinsey *viâ* Yancoma, to be completed in six days. They declared they could not do so. They asked for white soldiers to help them, and finally asked for money. Then Captain Butler pronounced his final resolution. He should leave them on the 19th, return to Prah-su, and report their treasonable conduct to the Major-General. "Matters have now reached such a point," said Captain Butler, "that it becomes necessary to abandon the mission intrusted to me by the Major-General—a result not unforeseen for some time past, but which has been delayed until the latest moment at which success remained a possible contingency."

On the 19th, however, the Akim kings and chiefs, finding that he was really about to start for Prah-su-Assin, made an unconditional surrender, and agreed to proceed with him at once. Captain Butler had actually left them, and got as far as Beronassie on his journey to headquarters, when their urgent messages reached him, asking for his return, and promising better conduct. On the evening of the 20th, he, from Embronem, about four miles north of the Prah, reported his arrival there with 400 Akims, and hoped to continue the march on the following day, striking towards the main road due west. Matters

now looked more hopeful. The two kings and the chief of Accassi were with Captain Butler. All his officers were in good health. A medical officer, Dr Lowe, had joined them; and the force was being increased by numerous stragglers.

On the 21st a force of some 500 Akims reached Banqua. This place, like the villages already passed through, was deserted and in ruins; in fact, it is quite evident that between the inhabited Ashanti country and the Prah there lies a belt of wilderness. Captain Butler reported the object of the kings as being evidently to delay his advance in every possible way, and to prevent his obtaining information as to roads and distances. He had received the letters for the kings, which had been read and fully explained to them.

On the 22d the force advanced to Yancoma, distant seven or eight miles from Banqua. No enemy had yet been seen, but traces of his scouts had been met with. At Yancoma two paths branched off—one of which was said to lead towards Dadiasoo, and the other to Lake Boosum Echuy. Both roads were examined, and on the 23d a picquet was left out on the Dadiasoo road. On the 24th the scouts entered the village of Ennoonsu, whose inhabitants ran to the bush without offering any resistance. No prisoners were taken, but the village was looted and burned, and a party of two officers and 150 Akims sent off to occupy it, Captain Butler intending to join them there on the 25th with the rest of his force.

“I can scarcely convey to you,” again wrote Captain Butler, “a true conception of the position in which I find myself. All information is studiously withheld from me; carriers are constantly refused; distances are grossly exaggerated; the most vexatious and trivial pretexts are put

forward ; anything and everything is done to effect the one great object—delay. Were it not that I fully understand the object of this movement, I must long since have abandoned as hopeless the task assigned to me. Yesterday nothing could induce the kings to move ; to-day a fresh struggle has resulted in partial movement ; and to-morrow I hope to get the whole force in movement. The kings were so adverse to the west or Dadiasoo road, that I was forced to abandon the idea of following it.”

Thus, then, on the 24th, the day on which the Major-General crossed the Adansi hills with the first European troops, Captain Butler was at Yancoma, scarcely 30 miles from his right flank, with the intention of marching northwards in the direction of Lake Boosum Echuy ; but the Major-General was not aware of his having advanced so far, the last letter which had been received from him at headquarters being that dated the 19th, announcing that the kings had agreed to move ; and on the 23d the Major-General wrote, pointing out to Captain Butler that our advanced-guard was at Fommanah, about four miles beyond Moinsey ; that the enemy would most probably fight at Amoaful, some 16 miles beyond Fommanah ; that we should probably reach that place about the 29th ; and that it would be of great advantage to the main advance if Captain Butler could strike in on the left flank of the enemy at that place. The Major-General pointed out, at the same time, that it would be obviously not desirable that Captain Butler should strike into our line of communication at Moinsey, but most valuable if he would keep at a short distance to the eastward of our line, though only four or five miles from us.

It has already been related that, before leaving Cape Coast, the Major-General had selected Captain Dalrymple

of the 88th Regiment, and Captain Moore of the same regiment, to carry out a mission in the Wassaw and Denkera country, the object being to induce the people of these districts to assume the offensive against the Ashantis, and invade their country by the Wassaw path, thus acting on the left flank of the main line of advance. Captain Dalrymple was informed of the position and intended movements of the various other forces, and was instructed as follows :—

“ You will first proceed to Jooquah, where about 1000 of the Commendah and other tribes will be assembled on the 29th inst., under the command at present of a Sergeant Hughes, of the Gold Coast Volunteers. You will assemble the whole of them, mustering them with a view of ascertaining their numbers, and then explain to them the importance of the mission confided to you by his Excellency the Governor, stating how and by what points the Ashanti country is about to be invaded, and that a force of Wassaws and Denkeras is about to be collected with a view of advancing on the left of the line by which the European force proceeds—viz., that already stated. These tribes will then proceed forthwith with you to the Wassaw camp, which is supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Ahineberim, and you will do all in your power to collect as large a force as possible, with utmost expedition, with a view of advancing by the line and the time named before.

“ Previous to your arrival at Ahineberim, you will send messengers to King Enimil, of Wassaw, at Amantea ; King Apecoon, of Wassaw, at Ahineberim ; King Quasi Bedoo, of Tchuful, at Mampon ; and Chief Boakon, of Himmin,—announcing your arrival and the object of your mission.”

Then followed explanation as to the remuneration to be given to the natives, provision of ammunition, &c. ; and the letter ended thus,—“ There is nothing that I can add

further than that the Major-General relies on your good judgment and common-sense as to the manner in which this important mission is conducted."

On the 3d January, Captain Dalrymple, accompanied by Captain Moore, landed from the s.s. Thames, and on the 4th departed for Jooquah, arriving on the 5th. He found there Sergeant Hughes, but not a single man of the tribes due there on the 29th, so that his difficulties commenced early. Messengers were immediately despatched to King Atrew of Aquafoo, King Buarbin of Agoonah, and King Krew of Commendah, requesting them to send their troops. On the evening of the 5th, King Buarbin arrived with four men, promising 200 more on the 7th inst., and asked for rifles and ammunition. On the 6th, King Atrew arrived with three men, promising 150 on the 7th, and also asking for rifles and ammunition. King Krew did not at present put in an appearance.

Captain Dalrymple now proceeded to Tchuful Mampon, where he had already sent a messenger, desiring King Quasi Bedoo to meet him, and to summon Kings Enimil and Apecoon of Wassaw, and Chief Boakon of Himmin, to meet him at the same place. Captain Dalrymple had already ascertained that King Quasi Bedoo was considered the most powerful of these kings, and that Ahineberim would not be a good place of assembly, lying too much off the main road. Captain Dalrymple's letter of the 6th January ended in the usual hopeful strain.

Arriving at Mampon on the evening of the 8th, he found that King Quasi Bedoo was living at Daman, on the right bank of the river Prah ; so, crossing the Prah in a canoe, he proceeded to that village. The king received him kindly, and expressed himself much satisfied with his Excellency's offers ; but had not sent to summon the other kings. Captain Dalrymple, however, at once sent

messengers for them, but feared that, owing to the distances of their dwelling-places from Daman, they would scarcely arrive "before the next night or the following morning." King Quasi Bedoo said that he could start on the 11th with 500 men, and have 1000 more ready five days later, but he would like to get King Apecoon's reply before starting. He said that he could reach the boundary of the Ashanti territory in four days. On the following day, the 10th, Captain Dalrymple received a letter from headquarters, informing him of our advance as far as the Foomoosu river; and King Quasi Bedoo expressed great satisfaction, and said he was ready at once to advance. A messenger now arrived from King Apecoon, stating that about two months ago King Apecoon's men had been sent to Chamah, and had not yet returned; but that he was sending for them, and on their arrival would come to Daman. Captain Dalrymple proposed waiting for Captain Moore and the Commendah troops, and then advancing towards the Wassaw frontier. In the course of the evening of the 10th, King Apecoon sent a second message to say that he would arrive on the 12th, but that of course his men could not come then.

In the meanwhile Captain Moore had been endeavouring to collect men at Jooquah, but had met with no success. Buarbin informed him that the messenger whom he had sent to collect his people had returned, saying the people would not come; and Atrew expressed his opinion that there would be some delay in the arrival of his contingent, as his men were engaged in selecting a captain. King Krew of Commendah made no sign; and so, on the 10th, Captain Moore started to join Captain Dalrymple, the kings accompanying him as far as Mampon, but declining to go any farther.

On the 12th, Captain Dalrymple, having been joined by Captain Moore, asked King Quasi Bedoo to let him see the 500 men whom he had promised would be ready on the previous day. The king answered that he had not got them all here, but he would pick them up as he went on. In a two hours' interview with him, nothing could be extracted as to the number of men actually present; and the king absolutely refused to proceed before the 17th, urging that the 16th was his greatest festival, and that he could not go sooner. Captain Dalrymple was now beginning to have his faith a little shaken in King Quasi Bedoo's sincerity, and wanted guarantees of his really producing the 500 men in eight days, as he could not make out that there were more than 60 present at Daman. The king replied that, owing to his people having migrated to different places since the Ashanti invasion, he might not be able to raise his force to the numbers he had originally promised; and of course he asked for a present, which Captain Dalrymple refused. King Apecoon had not yet turned up, and Captain Dalrymple rather gathered from King Quasi Bedoo's manner that he did not expect he would; so another messenger was sent off for him. Quasi Bedoo did not at all seem to like the idea of marching to Coomassie alone; there seemed no probability of any of the other chiefs arriving, and Captain Dalrymple did not think it would be wise for him to spend several days in going to see King Enimil or Chief Boakon in order to induce them to come. The following words, written on the 12th January, show how one week of these stubborn natives had begun to tell on the bright spirits of the young English officer: "I must express our deep regret at the ill success which has so far attended our uninterrupted and strenuous efforts."



On the 14th, King Apecoon sent to say that he had decided it would be useless for him to come to Daman without bringing his men, and Captain Dalrymple sent his own interpreter to urge him to advance. King Krew of Commendah now arrived, but without any men, and was quite unable to state when they were likely to come, or how many of them there were likely to be. King Quasi Bedoo still promised to start on the 17th; and now we begin to read the same melancholy story in Captain Dalrymple's letters that the reader has grown accustomed to in Captain Butler's: "I can but add our absolute inability to attach the least credit to any promises made by any of these chiefs. Neither persuasion, argument, hopes of victory and reward in case of their co-operation, nor the threat of his Excellency's displeasure, and the chances of their having in future to fight their own battles without British aid, appeared to have the slightest effect on their minds. The impression left most strongly on the minds of both Captain Moore and myself—an impression, I must add, we have both tried most strongly to overcome—is, I regret to say, that none of them have any intention at all of striking a single blow on their own behalf."

In reply to this letter of Captain Dalrymple's, the Major-General wrote back encouraging him, and telling him to inform King Quasi Bedoo that he should receive no present till he had performed his promises; and that if he did not immediately assemble his men, and be prepared to move by a date fixed, his Excellency would send a force of police to capture him and convey him to Cape Coast, where he should be imprisoned and punished, and probably deposed. The other kings and chiefs were to have a similar intimation; and King Apecoon was to be

specially informed that his statement, as to his men having gone to Chamah, was utterly false, for that he had already incurred the Governor's displeasure by not sending them there. Before Captain Dalrymple received this communication, Kings Atrew and Buarbin arrived in camp, the latter bringing about twenty men. King Quasi Bedoo now refused to start on the 17th, pleading, as usual, for time, and wanting to see King Apecoon before he left. Buarbin and Atrew also wanted time, and King Krew complained that he had been brought to Daman as a prisoner, to which Captain Dalrymple replied that he was at liberty to return to his own country at once if he wished it.

Once more Captain Dalrymple was induced to give another day, and Quasi Bedoo promised to collect his troops at Kotakee. On the morning of the 18th the Major-General's letter arrived, and the contents were communicated to the various kings present in camp. Captain Dalrymple reported that the result produced on them was very great, and that, in accordance with his Excellency's command, he had fixed a day, the 21st, when these kings were to have their men ready. Captain Moore started with King Quasi Bedoo the same afternoon for Kotakee. King Buarbin with 41 men, King Atrew with two men, and King Krew with no men, remained with Captain Dalrymple under orders to collect their men by the 21st, all of them begging for money for themselves and their men. On the 21st no men had joined King Quasi Bedoo; King Apecoon had arrived at Daman with 50 or 60 men, where he heard his Excellency's letter; and none of the other kings had received a single man in addition to those already reported. King Apecoon agreed to go on next day with Captain Dalrymple, but the other kings refused

to move. Chief Boakon of Himmin had promised to be present on the 20th, but he had not arrived ; and on the 23d Captain Dalrymple moved from Daman to join Captain Moore, arriving at Kotakee on the 24th with King Apecoon and about 50 men, to find that King Quasi Bedoo had not got any men at all, even the few who had been with him at Daman having disappeared. On sending for Kings Apecoon and Quasi Bedoo on his arrival, to urge them to advance the following day, Captain Dalrymple was informed that King Apecoon was too drunk to come, and Quasi Bedoo, who came, declared that he could not start for two days, expressing himself quite ready to stand the consequences of the delay.

This, then, was the position of Captain Dalrymple's force on the 24th. From the seven kings and chiefs to whom he was commissioned he had succeeded in getting 50 men in three weeks, and this although he had used every effort that he and his comrade Captain Moore could devise, and had wasted tact, temper, and judgment in dealing with the hopeless inertness of the native character.

We have now examined the movements of the three columns intended by the Major-General to create diversions in favour of his main attack, up to and inclusive of the 24th January, the day on which, with his advanced guard at Fommanah, and his scouts pushed on to Kiang Boassu, the Major-General himself crossed the Adansi hills with the first battalion of the European brigade. Already, although we were scarcely aware of it, the movements of all these forces had begun to have their effect upon the movements of the enemy, and there is every reason to believe that by this time the news of Captain Glover's movements, as well as of Captain Butler's, had

reached Coomassie and the other great towns, and that the chief of Juabin was mustering his forces to oppose Captain Glover on the roads leading to his capital, while the chief of Kokofoo was assembling his men to oppose the advance of Captain Butler. Nor had Captain Dalrymple's movements, unimportant as they yet were, been without their effect. News travels from point to point among the natives with great rapidity ; and the fact that Sir Garnet Wolseley had announced his intention of moving a column by the Wassaw path, combined with the news that European officers were engaged in assembling the men of Tchuful and Wassaw and the neighbouring territories, was sufficient to convince the king at Coomassie that the invasion by this line would be no more an empty threat than those other invasions from three different quarters which had actually been already carried into effect ; and the King of Becqua assembled his men to oppose the invasion by this route.

## CHAPTER IV.

ADVANCE OF THE MAIN COLUMN UNDER SIR GARNET WOLSELEY—  
FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS—RECONNAISSANCES TO ADUBIASSIE AND  
BORBORASSIE—ACTION OF AMOAFUL—ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF  
BECQUAH.

ON the morning of the 24th January, the Major-General, with the headquarter staff, marched to Fommanah. After descending for some distance, the road led us through the bright little town of Quisah, on the slope of the hill near its foot. Between Quisah and Fommanah we passed through burial-places on each side of the high-road, the graves being marked by numbers of earthenware pots deposited on them in token of respect to the dead. A short distance out of Fommanah, on the left of the road, was a deep hole containing several skulls and human bones ; and we learnt that it was the receptacle for sacrificed victims, who are thrown in without burial. It was close to this pit of sacrifice that the scouts had found, as already related, a corpse impaled on a bamboo ; but it had been buried by the men of Russell's Regiment before our arrival.

The Major-General and the headquarter staff were quartered in the King of Adansi's palace at Fommanah. It was a large building, consisting of several square open courts communicating with each other, and each surrounded by rooms closed on three sides, but open on the fourth into the court. The floors of these rooms were raised between three and four feet from the ground, and

were ascended by steep steps from the court. These floors were made of red clay, the surface of which was perfectly smooth and glazed; but the clay was speedily disintegrated by our nailed boots, and in a day or two our clothes and papers were covered with fine red dust. Each of these rooms or raised recesses had a high-pitched, very steep thatched roof; and at the corners of the court, between the roofs of the recesses, were placed hollowed-out wooden troughs to receive the drainage of the water from the roofs, the troughs sloping downwards, so that the water would fall into the court, round the outer edge of which a shallow drain led to the lowest corner of the court, from which the water would flow outwards.

In the small court which was told off for the use of the Commodore, there were unmistakable signs of a sacrifice having been made in one of these recesses; a raised altar or sleeping place, we could not tell which, being covered with blood evidently but recently shed. Some of the natives showed great dislike to enter this court, believing fetish to have been performed there. Connecting the blood with the mutilation of the impaled corpse, a nervous man might have objected to these quarters; but the Commodore slept there, and we never heard that his nights were disturbed by ghosts.

In the course of the morning, Colonel Greaves, by the Major-General's desire, had an interview with the Ashanti envoys, who had arrived with the missionaries on the previous night, and were now quartered in a house in the town. He informed them that the General would see no Ashanti except the king or some one of the royal blood, but that anything they said to him might be considered as having been said to his Excellency. They told him that the king had released all the white prisoners, and had

paid Adoo Boffo the ransom which he claimed. They said that Amanquatia had acted quite contrary to the king's orders in attacking Elmina ; that the king had sent him against Denkera, but that instead of going down the Denkera road he went down the Prahsu road, and that for this offence the king would make him pay the indemnity demanded by the Governor. They repeated that the king had no quarrel with the white man, but that his quarrel was only with the black man ; and they thought it very hard that the white man would not help them. They were very anxious that we should not advance any further or enter Coomassie, saying that, if we would halt at Fommanah, the king would make peace, and everything could be arranged.

Colonel Greaves told them that his Excellency was much grieved that the king had not sent in all the Fanti prisoners as well as the white people, and that they must be sent in at once ; the Governor meant to go to Coomassie, and it depended entirely upon the king whether he should go there as his friend or his enemy. If the king would at once give up the Fanti prisoners, send Prince Mensa and the other hostages demanded, and show himself really desirous of peace, the Governor would go to Coomassie with only a small escort, and sign the treaty there. But as his Excellency could not trust a king who made prisoners of friendly messengers sent to him, he must have the hostages before he could go to Coomassie as a friend. These hostages should be treated in our camp with all the honour due to their position. If, however, the king meant to fight, we had with us an English army with which we should simply walk over his soldiers, destroy Coomassie, and, if it suited us, break up the Ashanti nation. Colonel Greaves told them that we had experience in dealing

with black people, and quite understood their procrastinating ways ; but that we did not intend to make any delay, and the king need not count upon it. Whether he meant peace or meant war, we should act rapidly,—such was the custom of an English army. Colonel Greaves told them they should have the General's answer for the king in the evening, and that before they went they should see a few white soldiers. They replied that they should like the answer at once to take to the king ; that the prisoners should at once be sent, and that a portion of the indemnity should be paid immediately. They again begged us not to advance further till we heard from the king. Colonel Greaves told them, that when the prisoners had been sent in, and the hostages delivered, the Governor would halt his troops, and would send orders to the forces advancing on the Akim and Wassaw sides to halt also. The envoys seemed thoroughly aware of the movements of these other forces.

In the evening, the Rifle Brigade, the Naval Brigade, and the Royal Engineers, as well as the native regiments, were formed up on either side of the road leading northwards out of Fommanah, and the envoys having received the Major-General's letter to the king given in the last chapter, were marched off through them.

Lord Gifford, with his scouts, proceeded this morning as far as the Bahrein stream, and the village of Kiang Boassu. The scouts displayed less inclination than usual to advance, as there was much loud talking and beating of drums across the stream to the left of the road. No Ashantis were seen between Fommanah and the south bank of the Bahrein. A reconnaissance was also made from Fommanah round the hill to the west of the main road, to meet a party of the 2d West India Regiment



despatched from the cross-roads north of the Parakoom river. Wood's Regiment marched to Quisah, leaving half a company to garrison Moinsey, and half a company at the top of the Adansi hills.

On Sunday the 25th January, Wood's and Russell's Regiments and Rait's Artillery advanced to Dompooassie, about 2½ miles, the commanding Royal Engineer and labourers accompanying them to clear the road. The headquarters and one wing of the 42d Highlanders arrived at Quisah, and the remainder of the regiment and headquarters of the 23d at Moinsey.

The information now in our possession as to the movements of the enemy amounted practically to this, being derived generally from the reports of the missionaries, and the Fanti hammock-bearers whom they had brought with them :—On the same day that Sir Garnet Wolseley's letter had arrived, naming the lines of invasion by which he was about to advance, the chiefs of Becquah and Juabin had started for their respective capitals in order to prepare their men to resist the threatened attacks against their territories. About 5000 men, commanded by Cobbina Gwimmo, King of Mampon, were encamped to the south of Agemmamu ; and all the women had gone from the villages between Agemmamu and Dompooassie. The bulk of the fighting men of Adansi were at Adubiassie, two miles to the west of Dompooassie, under their king, Cobbina Obbin. This king had held an interview with the missionaries on their road down, had been most friendly and polite to them, and had begged them to make peace. None of the chiefs north of Coomassie had joined the army when the missionaries left. The army was said to be short of ammunition ; and there was a general desire for peace on the part of the fighting men,

who were very much afraid of the advance of the white man; but many of the chiefs wanted to fight. The king's mother wished for peace. Cobbina Obbin, the King of Adansi, wished to leave the Ashanti kingdom altogether, and to come under the British protection, and the King of Becquah was said to wish the same. M. Bonnat had heard that the people of Kokofoo had run away in very large numbers on hearing of the advance of a column from Western Akim; and that the king, having sent three chiefs to summon them to war, had received a reply that it was useless to try and collect the people, for that efforts had already been made, and that they had run away. The general opinion of the missionaries was, that the king would make peace, that he would fight if he dared, but that he would not dare. The king had begged Mons. Bonnat to say that he would not fight white men even if they came into the market-place at Coomassie. The chiefs were tired of war, and found it most difficult to collect their men, who were still more tired; but there was no doubt that the king had sent to Assinee for ammunition, and had ordered in all the contingents of the various chiefs. Chief Quaman Agyapon was known to be at Agemmamu with his fighting men; and it was tolerably evident that if there were a fight at all, it would be somewhere between Amoaful and that point. Mr Ramseyer told us that the news of the advance of Captain Butler's and Captain Glover's forces had already reached Coomassie, and that appeals had been made from both these directions to the king for assistance, and that he had sent a few barrels of powder.

On this day Sir Garnet Wolseley inspected the 2d battalion of the Rifle Brigade; out of their total strength of 684 officers and men, they showed 591

present on parade, 77 having been left behind sick, and 9 being sick in hospital at Fommanah.

It appeared on this day by the hospital states that out of the whole force of Europeans on shore, about 1800, 218 men had become ineffective from sickness since landing. The following were the details, not including Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers :—

	Sick.	
	Officers.	Men.
23d Regiment, half-battalion only landed,	0	38
42d Highlanders, . . . . .	0	51
Rifle Brigade, . . . . .	3	78
Naval Brigade, . . . . .	0	48 (out of 250)
	<hr/>	
Total,	3	215

The actual distribution of the troops north of the Prah on this day is shown in the following table :—

RETURNS

RETURNS showing Distribution of the Troops north of the Prah River, West Africa, on the 25th January 1874.

DISTRIBUTION.	Wood's Regiment.		2d W. I. Regiment.		42d Highlanders.		23d Regiment.		2d Battalion Rifle Brigade.		Naval Brigade.		Advanced Guard: Scouts, Ha'ts Artilillery: Wood's Regiment: Russell's Regiment.		1st W. I. Regiment (on March).		Total (all Ranks).		
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	European.	Native.	
Essianan, . . . .	1	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50	.....
Acrofoomu, . . . .	2	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	45	.....
Parakoom River, . .	..	..	4	135	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	135	Under orders for Moinsey.
Cross Roads, . . . .	..	..	2	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	100	5	143	Detachment 2d W. I. R. to proceed to Moinsey.
Moinsey, . . . . .	1	50	..	..	11	270	6	97	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	285	50	½ Battalion 42d and 23d march to Quisah to-morrow.
Crest of Adansi Hills,	1	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50	.....
Quisah, . . . . .	..	..	..	..	14	238	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	302	...	Headquarters of Brigade Staff.
Fommanah, . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	575	19	205	1	97	..	..	825	97	Headquarters of Major-General and Staff.
Dompoassie, . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	835	..	..	22	835	Composing Advanced Guard.
	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	200	To disembark to-morrow and proceed to Prabsu.
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	200	...	200	En route Mansu to Fommanah. 1st Reserve S. A. Ammunition and field hospital arrive at Fommanah on 27th inst.

The 2d West India Regiment was ordered to advance as soon as it could concentrate and as transport would permit, to Moinsey; Essiaman and Acrofoomu being garrisoned by No. 1 company of Wood's Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Warren assumed command of the post at Fommanah; and arrangements were made that the night duties, and those duties which required exposure during the day, should be performed by native troops. The naval Kroomen, as well as the hammock-bearers and regimental transport of the Rifles and Naval Brigade, were sent back to Moinsey for loads, as well as the carriers of the headquarter staff, and all others possibly available.

Colonel M'Leod now reported from the front that a little in front of Dompooassie a bush-path led off to the left to Adubiassie; that Lord Gifford had scouted in that direction, and had heard much noise and loud drumming; and that another road branched off from Dompooassie itself, leading south-west into the Denkera country, and said to have a branch somewhere in the bush, leading to Adubiassie. Both these roads were of course held by picquets; and Colonel M'Leod proposed, with the Major-General's permission, to make a reconnaissance to Adubiassie on the following morning, in order to clear out straggling Ashantis from the bush paths to the left, and prevent any blow which the King of Fommanah might meditate making against our communications by these roads. He proposed to combine with this reconnaissance another to Essang Quantah. A second visit made by the scouts in the evening to Adubiassie resulted in their hearing much less noise there, and finding a palm-branch planted in the path, which to the initiated means peace. The scouts returned

under the impression that the Adansis, with their king, had retreated towards Becquah. The necessary authority for the reconnaissance was given to Colonel M'Leod ; but he was ordered not to fire, unless the enemy fired first.

On the morning of the 26th, the reconnaissance was made as follows :—On his advance to Kiang Boassu with the troops named in the margin, Colonel M'Leod turned off to the left, and marched upon Adubiassie. On nearing

	Officers.	Men.
Russell's Regt.,	8	400
2d W. I. Regt.,	1	129
Rait's Artillery,	1	14
Royal Engineers,	1	17
Scouts,	1	60

the village, the scouts reported it to be still held by armed men. These, to the number of about 200, surprised by our approach, fired first on our troops, and ran west into the bush, followed by Russell's left wing. After a short skirmish, during which Lieutenant Palmer, of Rait's Artillery, fired some rockets upon the enemy, Colonel M'Leod sounded the recall, burned the village, and sent the men back to breakfast, and to follow Colonel Wood's Regiment to Kiang Boassu.

When Colonel M'Leod had turned off to the left along the bush-path to Adubiassie, Colonel

Wood with a force as per margin proceeded along the main road to Kiang

	Officers.	Men.
Wood's Regt.,	7	105
Rait's Artillery,	1	14
Rl. Engineers,	1	9

Boassu, to cut off the Ashantis should they attempt to strike into the Coomassie road at that place. The Ashantis, however, struck in to the road at Essang Quantah, in advance. For a few minutes, during the skirmish at Adubiassie, the firing in the bush was very sharp : two Ashantis were killed in the village, and two taken prisoners, one of whom was a well-known scout, who had been seen by Lord Gifford and his party at Essiaman, and repeatedly since that time. He reported that Ashanti troops, to the number of 1000, had left Adubiassie the day before, having received eight kegs of

powder from the king, and had fallen back upon Adad-wassie. While this reconnaissance was going on, a company of the Rifle Brigade and a company of the Naval Brigade, under a field officer, were sent to the stream south of Dompouassie, in support. There were no casualties on our side.

The advanced guard this evening was stationed at Kiang Boassu with Wood's Regiment in Essang Quantah, having a company at Detchiasu.

The prisoners captured in the reconnaissance to Adu-biassie stated that there were six chiefs with their men, about 1000 in number, at a place called Borborassie, under Cobbina Obbin, King of Adansi; that the King of Ashanti had sent them powder, and that he meant to fight us at Amoaful. Colonel M'Leod did not report favourably of the native troops on this occasion, complaining that there was no holding them back, and that they got out of hand, though the moral effect of the slight success had been good.

In the afternoon Sir Garnet Wolseley despatched a messenger, one of the prisoners, not the "long scout," with a letter to King Koffee Kalkalli, of which the following is a copy :—

"FOMMANAH, 26th January 1874.

"KING,—When your messenger was leaving the day before yesterday, he was desired to tell Cobbina Obbin that I could not permit him to remain with his armed followers so near the camp of my advanced guard, and that if he did not go back it would lead to trouble. This morning one of my scouting parties, upon reaching the village of Adubiassie, was fired upon by Cobbina Obbin's men. In order to punish him for this unfriendly act, the village was set on fire.

“Your Majesty tells me you wish for peace. Why, then, this collection of armed men between me and Coomassie? I have told your Majesty that, if you wish it, I am willing to go peacefully to Coomassie, as your friend, for the purpose of signing a lasting peace with you; and you know that an English Governor always speaks the truth. But if you collect an army before me, I shall defeat it and march through it; and then what will become of your Majesty’s dynasty?”

“You know that your soldiers are powerless before an army of white men. Be wise and do not allow evil counsellors to advise you to adopt a line of conduct that must bring misery upon yourself and your people.

“The Queen of England does not want to destroy the Ashanti kingdom. She wishes to have a lasting peace established with you, and to secure to you free access to the coast for purposes of trade.

“This is the last time that I shall warn you. Decide quickly. I told you I would only advance slowly for a few days to allow your Majesty to send me the hostages and the prisoners, and the money which I demanded in my last letter. But if, when these few days have expired, you have not complied with my terms, I shall march straight to Coomassie.

“I send this letter to you by the hands of a prisoner whom my scouts captured this morning, and whom I return to you as a proof of my good feeling towards you.

“I am, King, your true friend,

(Signed) “G. J. WOLSELEY,

“Major-General and Administrator, Gold Coast.

“To King Koffee Kalkalli.”

Thus Sir Garnet Wolseley gave the King one more last



warning, at the same time letting him know that he was not deceived, and was well aware that his Majesty's professions of peace were only the cloak by which he hoped to cover and gain time for the collection of his armed men between us and Coomassie.

In the evening, the Major-General inspected the 42d Highlanders and the detachment of the 23d Royal Welsh Fusiliers, who were now concentrated at Quisah. The appearance of the 42d was most admirable ; and the 23d, though not looking so strong, were reported to be in good health.

Orders were issued for the Naval Brigade to advance to Kiang Boassu, and the 2d West Indians to push on to Fommanah.

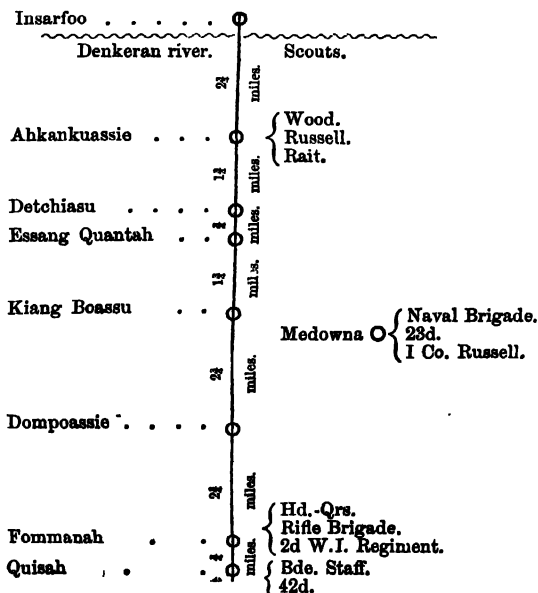
On the 27th, the Naval Brigade marched to Medowna, 250 yards off the road to the right of Kiang Boassu. Lord Gifford and his scouts examined as far as the Denkeran river beyond Adadwassie, and his scouts examined several villages on the left flank, on the road leading towards Becquah, bringing in reports from which Colonel M'Leod understood the Ashantis to be retreating to our front and left flank. The scouts remained at Ahkankuassie with the Houssas of Russell's Regiment, and Wood's whole regiment moved to Detchiasu. Ahkankuassie was reported as a suitable place for a European encampment ; and Major Home was instructed to form a camp there for the whole European force. The road was completed this day to Detchiasu ; and beyond that point it was reported to be very bad indeed. Orders were issued that the Royal Engineers were on no account to take part in reconnaissances or skirmishes, as had been the case on the previous day, while their services were so much required on the road.

Orders were issued this day to officers commanding posts north of the Prah, to send out daily patrols at uncertain hours, from their respective posts along the main road, both to the front and rear, and also along all tracks leading to the west and east. From the cross-roads north of the Parakoom river, a patrol was to be sent every day along the road leading to the west, and a small patrol was to be sent along the same road from Fommanah. The posts now south of the Adansi hills were : Moinsey, Cross Roads, Acrofoomu, and Essiaman ; there was also a post on the crest of the hill. Special orders were also issued with regard to the duties of picquets, and the precautions to be taken on them.

On the 28th the headquarters and detachment of the 23d Fusiliers marched to Kiang Boassu, and were attached to the advanced guard under Colonel M'Leod. Our flank appeared to be now perfectly clear ; all the paths leading westward from Ahkankuassie had been explored, and no sign of the enemy was found. Lord Gifford scouted to the front as far as Insarfu, and heard much noise of Ashantis across the stream at that place. From Ahkankuassie he went down a bush path leading into the so-called Elmina road, which he struck about two miles from our road, finding it greatly used lately, and bearing traces of having been slept on the previous night. He captured three prisoners, who were the last of a convoy carrying provisions, which they said were sent from Coomassie to the King of Adansi at Borborassie. None of the scouts had yet visited Borborassie, which lay several miles off the path ; and Colonel M'Leod proposed to make a reconnaissance in force there on the following day. These prisoners reported that troops had been sent from Coomassie with orders to stay with the king of Adansi

until the king of Ashanti decided what he should do; and the number of the enemy present at Borborassie was estimated at from 300 to 1000 men. The Major-General approved of the reconnaissance being made, with a view of clearing the enemy out of Borborassie; and cautioned Colonel M'Leod to be most careful to avoid even the appearance of a reverse, desiring also that he should not fire first, or burn any villages. Thus, even at a certain sacrifice, the Major-General was resolved to do nothing which might interfere with the prospects of peace. He desired the reconnaissance to be made with Russell's and Wood's Regiments, and the detachment of the 23d,—the Naval Brigade to be left at Kiang Boassu; but Colonel M'Leod had previously issued other orders, and he did not receive the Major-General's instructions until after the reconnaissance had started.

The following sketch shows the position of the troops on the night of the 28th:—



On the morning of the 29th, about ten days' supplies having been collected at Fommanah, the headquarters marched to Detchiasu, and the 2d Battalion Rifle Brigade and 42d Highlanders marched at half-past five from Fommanah and Quisah respectively. As soon as the 42d had passed through Fommanah, the 1st Reserve S.A. Ammunition Column and the Field Hospitals marched under escort of the 2d W.I. Regiment, which furnished the rear-guard. A detachment of Russell's Regiment, under command of Lieutenant Grant, 6th Regiment, remained in charge of the intrenched post which had been formed at Fommanah.

The road from Fommanah went first down a steep descent, and was then level till we reached Dompoussie; the whole way to the right and to the left of the road extensive plantain grounds were seen. At Dompoussie we found that the edge of a tremendous thunderstorm had swept over it the previous day, the south end of the village being perfectly dry, and the north end and the road beyond it saturated with wet. This storm had rolled within our hearing all the preceding day, and carriers and sick men from the Naval Brigade had come in drenched to the skin; but at Fommanah we had had no rain.

Immediately after our arrival at Detchiasu, two letters were brought in from the king, whose messengers had reached our outposts on the Denkera river. The letters were as follows:—

“KUMASSI, *January 26, 1874.*

“MY GOOD FRIEND,—That your Excellency may not be kept ignorant of the cause of my non-immediate compliance with your Excellency's demands, viz., the sending of all the native prisoners, the hostages, and half part of the money, I hasten myself to acquaint you that since the rumour of the approach of your Excellency's forces reached

here, all my Chiefs have left Coomassie to guard their roads. It has, therefore, necessitated my sending messengers to inform them the purport of your Excellency's letter, and to obtain their sentiments, to enable me to give a definite decision. I therefore deem it prudent to apprise your Excellency that a day or two's deferring may not be thought of being inattention on my part; and, in the meanwhile, your Excellency will please to stop the progress of your forces on every direction, as I have hitherto stopped mine from engagement, till your Excellency has obtained my decision.—We beg to be, &c.

(For His Majesty Kofi Kalkari)

(Signed) KUEKU POKU, his X mark.

YAW NANKWI, his X mark.

KOFI BUAKA, his X mark."

"KUMASSIE, *January 27, 1874.*

"MY GOOD FRIEND,—I have this evening received your Excellency's letter respecting the conduct of Obin and the burning of the town Edubiassi, for which I very much regret. I had had prepared letter and messengers ready for your Excellency ere yours reached me, which I now send, and at the same time petition your Excellency to stop the advancement of your forces as to afford me ample time to obtain the sentiment of my Chiefs to enable me to give your Excellency my decision, which I know would be satisfactory.

"I trust your Excellency would believe me that I am as peaceably inclined as your Excellency, and trust your Excellency will not fail to convince me with your good feelings towards me by stopping the forces from advancing further than where they have already reached, that we may negotiate and treat for lasting peace. I shall also know by that that you do not love the Denkerahs and the Assins better than me.

"My ancestors never struggled with any European Power, and I cannot do it if your Excellency do not mean to fight me whether I meet your Excellency's demands or no. I shall only infer your Excellency's evil intention towards me by the advancement of your Excellency's forces after receiving this my letter. I therefore trust your Excellency will exercise little more patience with me by giving me grace to negotiate for peace.—With my best respect, we beg, &c.

(For His Majesty Kofi Kalkari)

(Signed)

KUEKU POKU, his X mark.

YAW NANKWI, his X mark.

KOFI BUAKI, his X mark."

The letters were sent on from the outposts in advance of the messengers, who did not arrive in our camp till about half-past nine, by which time Sir Garnet's answer was ready. The answer was as follows :—

"DETHIASU, *January 29, 1874.*

"KING,—I have received your Majesty's two letters, dated 26th and 27th instant.

"In compliance with your Majesty's wishes, and in order to give you time to make arrangements for complying with my terms, I halted for four days at Fommanah. Finding that neither the prisoners nor the hostages were sent to me, nor any part of the indemnity, I have advanced to this place.

• "I find that, instead of using the time I gave you in making peaceable arrangements, you have taken advantage of it to collect your armed men.

"I cannot allow your soldiers to remain near my army. If you want peace, withdraw all your armed men at once behind Coomassie, and comply with my demands. If you really wish for peace, you have nothing to fear from me. This I promise you.

“As I have already told your Majesty, I wish to visit you peaceably in Coomassie with an escort of white men, who shall only stay there one day while peace is being signed. As soon as peace is signed I shall order all my troops to go back as quickly as possible across the river Prah; and when they have done so, and when your Majesty has complied with the terms already agreed upon, all your hostages shall be sent back with honour to their own country. While under my care they shall be well treated.

“I halted four days at Fommanah to please your Majesty. I cannot halt again until you have complied with my terms.—I am, King, your true friend,

(Signed) “G. J. WOLSELEY,”

*Major-General and Administrator, Gold Coast.*

These letters from the king were the most palpable subterfuge—a mere excuse to get time; and nothing was more evident than that the more time allowed, the larger force would the Major-General have to fight.

Accompanying the letters from the king was one from Mr Dawson, acknowledging the £20 sent to him by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and adding, “Please see 2d Corinthians, chap. ii. ver. 11.” This was a clever device of Mr Dawson. He had evidently not been allowed, as usual, to write at length, but he had managed by this quotation from Scripture, which would pass as quite natural amongst natives, to get the better of the king. Obtaining a Bible from the nearest West Indian soldier—for the West Indian soldier is never without his Bible at hand, and, to their credit be it spoken, the Major-General’s orderlies spent a great portion of their time in reading from this book—we found the following to be Mr Dawson’s selected text:—

“Lest Satan should get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices.” No further confirmation, then, was necessary of the already decided opinion that the king was only seeking delay in order to get together his troops.

The messengers were not kept five minutes in camp at Detchiasu; but in these minutes they were again told that the Governor meant to go to Coomassie, and that it was entirely for the king to decide whether he should go as a friend or as an enemy. The messengers were sent back to Coomassie, passing through on their road the Rifle Brigade and the 42d on their march from Detchiasu to Ahkankuassie, and thus gaining practical evidence that the Major-General meant what he said.

In the mean time, Colonel M'Leod, to whom Captain Farquharson, V.C., 42d Highlanders, had now been attached as staff-officer, had started on his reconnaissance against Borborassie with the force named in the margin.

Striking into the bush-path  
from Kiang Boassu at a  
quarter-past eight, they  
marched for nearly three

	Officers.	Men.
23d R. W. F., . . .	1	79
Naval Brigade, . . .	14	209
Russell's Regiment, . .	1	57
Rait's Artillery, 2 rocket detachments.		

hours in a west-south-westerly direction, and at eleven o'clock arrived before the village, taking it quite by surprise. The Ashantis, driven out of the village, took to the bush on all sides. A party of them came round and fired on the left flank of the Naval Brigade, but were driven away with a few rounds. Unfortunately, the village had not been taken without loss. Captain Nicol, who was leading the advance with the Annamaboe company of Russell's Regiment, had, agreeably to orders not to fire first, commenced to hold a palaver with the enemy, who were visible in the village; but firing was soon opened,



and he then rushed the village with his men. In so doing he was shot dead, and the Major-General's Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant the Hon. H. Wood, who had obtained permission to accompany the party, took command of the Annamaboes. Fifty-three Ashanti muskets were collected in the village, twelve kegs of powder, and the umbrella of Essaman Quantah, the Moltke of the Ashantis, Amanquatia's instructor in the art of war, who had been sent by the king from Coomassie to induce the Adansis to fight. Essaman Quantah himself narrowly escaped capture.

The troops were halted in the village for an hour, and then commenced their long and fatiguing return march, the sailors forming the rear-guard. No sooner was the village left than the Ashantis returned to it with shouting and blowing of horns, and presently a body of them advanced and fired upon the rear-guard, who quietly faced about, and poured into them such a shower of Snider bullets "as," Colonel M'Leod reported, "sufficed to rid us of their presence for the rest of the day." The troops returned to camp at Kiang Boassu at 4 P.M. One Fanti carrier of the Naval Brigade was killed, two petty officers severely and one slightly wounded, and one marine severely wounded. One Annamaboe native was killed, and three severely wounded.

Captain Nicol was the first man on our side killed in action on the north side of the Prah. He had volunteered for the expedition, and, in spite of considerable dissuasion, had insisted upon coming out. Since his arrival he had shown the most indomitable energy and power of enduring hardship, and he had now shown the courage which was to have been expected from his previous career.

While Colonel M'Leod moved upon Borborassie, Lieutenant-Colonel Wood marched with 220 of all ranks of

his regiment, and the scouts under Lord Gifford, from Ahkankuassie to the Becquah road, and remained there by order of Colonel M'Leod, waiting for any fugitives from Borborassie. At 3 P.M. he returned to camp, his men being exhausted for want of water. Almost immediately after his arrival on the Becquah road in the morning, a party of Ashantis had appeared from the Becquah direction, and fired upon our scouts; the fire was returned; one Ashanti was killed, and the rest escaped.

There were on this day at Ahkankuassie seven days' supplies of meat, and four days' supply of biscuit for the whole force. Russell's Regiment advanced to Insarfu; and orders were issued for the concentration of the headquarters, Brigade Staff, Rifle Brigade, 42d Highlanders, and Rait's Artillery, at that place on the following day. The Naval Brigade, 23d, Annamaboe Company, Field Hospitals, and Reserve S. A. Ammunition Column, were ordered to Ahkankuassie, the 2d West India Regiment to Adadwassie, and the advanced-guard, consisting now of Wood's and Russell's Regiments only, was to be disposed of by Colonel M'Leod in front of Insarfu. Orders were also sent to the 1st West India Regiment, which had this day reached Essiaman, to march to the front, leaving a detachment of fifty men at Fommanah to relieve a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment left there.

The patrols from the various posts down the road up to this day met with no enemy; all the tracks to right and left were explored; a number of deserted villages were found, but not a shot had to be fired.

On the 30th, the movements ordered were all carried out, and the advanced guard moved to Quarman, holding the passage of the Dansaboo stream, and strongly in-

trenching themselves. The whole European force was now concentrated with the artillery at Insarfu and Ahkankuassie, the Field Hospitals and S. A. Ammunition Reserve being up with the force.

On the night of the 29th, the advanced-guard heard much firing and beating of drums in their front, and on the early morning of the 30th, Lord Gifford went forward and found the Ashantis in force, with a long line of huts, just beyond the village of Egginassie. (See sketch.) Captain Buller went forward also to join Lord Gifford, and Colonel M'Leod reported that all further movements must be made with great caution, as there was evidently a formidable enemy in front resolved to dispute our passage. Under cover of an escort from the advanced-guard, the commanding Royal Engineer continued cutting the road up to within a hundred yards of the village of Egginassie; and Lieutenant Hart completed on this day his survey of the road up to the position of the advanced-guard at Quarman.

It was now evident that the following day would bring about an action, and all the necessary steps were taken. When the troops should advance on the following day, the Annamaboe Company, under Captain Player, with a detachment of West Indians, was to form the garrison of Ahkankuassie; and the officer in command of that post was ordered to ascertain the hours of departure of the different convoys between Fommanah and Ahkankuassie, and between the latter place and Insarfu. The convoys to and from Fommanah were to be accompanied by armed escorts, Fommanah furnishing them as far as Kiang Boassu, and Ahkankuassie on the north of that place. Convoys to Insarfu were to be escorted from Ahkankuassie, and met half-way by an

escort from Insarfu; and all the surrounding tracks and roads were to be carefully patrolled. Orders to the necessary effect were issued to Insarfu and to Fommanah. Despatches were sent to England by the Major-General, containing the news up to the latest date; and the intelligence report was to the following effect:—"That the enemy had concentrated behind Egginassie about Amoaful; Amanquatia was asserted to be in supreme command of the army, all the big chiefs having joined him, but many of their men not having yet come in. Prisoners asserted that the king had promised to take the field in person. Becquah, a mile to the west of Amoaful, was asserted to be full of men; and it appeared to be the general opinion of those of the Fantis who know Ashanti customs well, that the enemy would fight at Amoaful, and again in front of Coomassie." The Major-General's despatch to the Secretary of State for War, reporting proceedings, ended thus:—"The intelligence report which I have the honour to forward will inform you that the enemy are known to be in position near the villages of Amoaful and Becquah. I intend to attack them to-morrow."

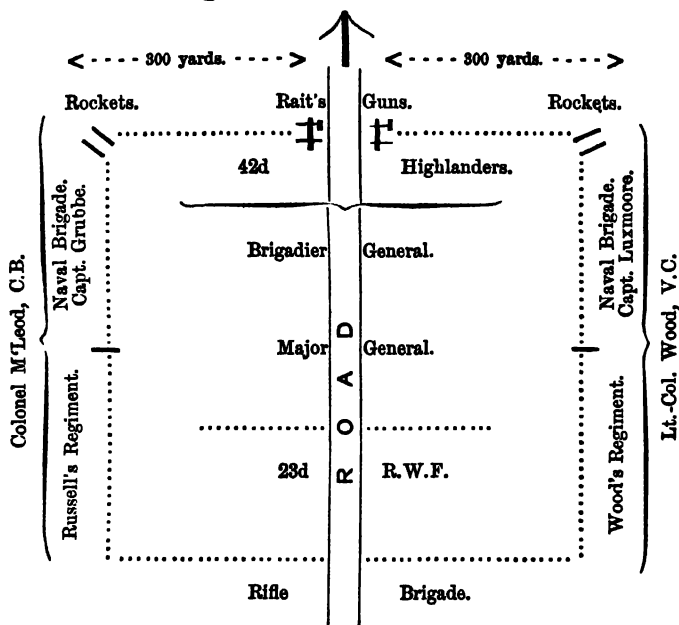
The following orders were now issued for the advance:—"The troops will advance to-morrow, at an hour which will be hereafter decided, in the following order:—

42d Highlanders.  
Rait's guns.  
Naval Brigade.  
Rait's rockets.  
23d R. W. Fusiliers.  
Rifle Brigade.

"Wood's and Russell's Regiments, which are now in advance, will be drawn up on the side of the road, and

will, on the above column reaching them, strike in between the 23d R.W. Fusiliers and Rifle Brigade.

“On approaching the enemy the troops will be formed as shown in the following diagram,—the front line being commanded by Brigadier-General Sir A. Alison, the left flank by Colonel M'Leod, the right flank by Lieutenant Colonel Wood, V.C., and the rear by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, Rifle Brigade:—



“The regimental reserve ammunition will be inside the square on the road, that of the Rifle Brigade being in front of the battalion. Regiments must furnish a guard on their ammunition, and arrange for keeping their men supplied.

“The hammocks and bearers will also be inside the square.

“The baggage of all troops at Insarfú and in front of it will be packed at Insarfú under a guard of the 2d West

India Regiment, the police, and any weakly men of the European regiments who are unable to march.

"The baggage of the Naval Brigade and 23d R.W. Fusiliers will be parked at Ahkankuassie, where there will be a company of Russell's Regiment, and a detachment of West Indians, and any weakly Europeans.

"The field hospitals and reserve ammunition column will be halted at Insarfu (and will be parked under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Webber, 2d West India Regiment, who will be the officer commanding at this post), moving from Ahkankuassie immediately after the departure of the 23d.

"Every man of the force will carry one day's full ration of sausage and cheese. A reserve of supplies will be formed at Insarfu.

"The main road will be cleared as far as possible with the troops by the Royal Engineers, who will cut roads on each side of and 300 yards from the main road.

"The 42d Highlanders must be careful in their advance to lean in upon the guns so as not to leave them without support."

Up to the evening of the 29th, as has already been reported, the patrols from the various posts in rear had met with no opposition, and the road had been kept clear; but on the 30th, although north of the Adansi hills all was still quiet, to the south it was otherwise. About a mile south of the camp at Moinsey, Colonel Colley's servant and an old man, a Fanti, were fired at by Ashantis, and the old man was badly wounded in the wrist. A patrol was immediately sent out and exchanged shots with a small body of Ashantis, who retired; but a subsequent patrol reported the sounds of a considerable body of Ashantis camping in the bush to westward of the point

where this attack had been made. Lieutenant Irwin, in command of the garrison at Moinsey, reported that he had obtained information to the effect that two Ashanti chiefs had moved down in this direction to act on the offensive against our communications ; but scouts sent out from the Parakoom cross-roads found no signs of any force of the enemy, and it is probable that this was only a small party of villagers acting under some chief on their own account.

At daybreak on the 31st January, the force destined to form the front column under Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison, marched off from the camp at Insarfu in the following order :—Lord Gifford's scouts, 40 of all ranks ; two companies of the 42d Highlanders ; a detachment of Royal Engineers under Major Home, R.E. ; four companies of the 42d Highlanders ; Rait's Artillery, two 7-pounder guns. The 42d Highlanders were under the command of Major Duncan Macpherson and the guns under Lieutenant Saunders, R.A., Major Rait accompanying them. Immediately after Rait's advance, followed the right wing of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Grubbe, R.N., having marched from Ahkankuassie that morning. In rear of it came two rocket detachments under Lieutenant Palmer, R.A. Then followed the left wing of the Naval Brigade under command of Commander Luxmoore, R.N., and in rear of them two rocket detachments under Lieutenant Knox, R.A. The headquarters and detachment of the 23d Royal Welsh Fusiliers under Lieutenant Colonel Mostyn, having marched in from Ahkankuassie, followed ; and the Rifle Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Warren brought up the rear. At Quarman, Russell's Regiment struck into the column between Lieutenant Palmer's rocket detachment and the

right wing of the Naval Brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wood's Regiment joined the column in rear of Lieutenant Knox's rocket detachments. The detachment of Royal Engineers under Captain Buckle, R.E., joined the troops intended to form the left column, of which Colonel M'Leod undertook the command; and a detachment under Lieutenant Bell, R.E., joined those forming the right column, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Wood took command.

The headquarters moved off from Insarfu at half-past 7, marching with the 23d Regiment. Whilst they were still at Quarman, from which they did not move till a quarter past 8, the first shot was heard, which soon developed itself into heavy fire, extending over some extent of front. Touch of the enemy was first obtained by Lord Gifford's scouts just before entering the village of Egginassie, where they were fired upon from an ambuscade. Lord Gifford, however, took the village by a rush, without any serious resistance, and reported that the enemy were in considerable force beyond. Sir Archibald Alison immediately sent the two companies of the 42d Highlanders forming the advanced-guard up the main road to the front, and a section up a path which branched off to the left. The sharp fire which immediately followed showed that the enemy in considerable numbers was determined to make a stand, and Sir Archibald immediately reinforced the advanced-guard with another company, and directed Major Macpherson to assume the command of the advanced-guard in person, sending at the same time two companies up the path leading to the left from the village, with orders to follow it only so long as it ran near the main road, and if it diverged to the left, to cut their own way through the bush in a course parallel to



that followed by the main road, their object being to secure the left of the troops on the main road from flank attack. Sir Archibald Alison then followed the advanced-guard up the road with the remaining three companies of the 42d Highlanders and Rait's guns.

Before leaving Egginassie at 8.30, the Brigadier thus reported to the Major-General : " Found the enemy in considerable force in the front ; have three companies engaged on the main road in the front, which are making satisfactory progress. Enemy is trying to turn my left flank ; I have met this by two companies sent along a path to the left. All working satisfactorily. There is a good number of Ashantis in front, and I shall order an advance to be made there. I have three companies still in reserve, and the Naval Brigade." The Naval Brigade was not, however, under the Brigadier's orders.

Reaching a small rise in the ground some distance beyond Egginassie, the Brigadier saw the nature of the situation. The path there turned to the left, and descended into a low swampy hollow, through which a sluggish stream flowed. After crossing this hollow, the road (as shown in the sketch) turned slightly to the right, ascending a ridge. This ridge was the enemy's main position, and his camp extended along it for a great distance on either side of the road. The Brigadier thus describes the position in a report : " Falling back on our right, this ridge projected forward on our left in the shape of a semicircle, completely enveloping that flank, and sweeping with its fire the path descending into the swamp, the swamp itself, and taking in flank the path again as it ascended to the right." It was evident at a glance that this position was one of extreme strength, and that it could only be carried by first pushing back the enemy

from the flanking heights on our left, and then forcing a passage over the ridge by the main path on our right. The advanced-guard was already hotly engaged. Major Baird, with two companies, was taking the semicircle of heights; Major Macpherson, with the remainder, was endeavouring to force his way up the path; the enemy was making an obstinate resistance; the men of the 42d were falling fast, and the wounded were streaming to the rear. Sir Archibald now directed Major Scott, commanding the reserve companies of the 42d, to support Major Macpherson with two companies,—only two being thus left in hand. At five minutes past nine, the Brigadier reported to the Major-General: “I am heavily engaged with a large force in my front and left flank. Six companies are in action, and I have only two in reserve. I would like some support.” This was received at 9.25, and, five minutes afterwards, an undated report: “Surgeons are much wanted in the front; please send a surgeon or two, if they can be spared.”

The situation at this time is thus described by the Brigadier: “The peculiarities of Ashanti warfare were now strongly developed. We were in the midst of a semicircle of hostile fire, and we hardly ever caught sight of a man. As company after company of the 42d descended, with their pipes playing, into the ravine, they were almost immediately lost sight of in the bush; and their position could only be judged of from the sharp crack of their rifles, in contradistinction to the loud, dull roar of the Ashanti musketry. Another difficulty peculiar to this warfare was at this time developed: when a company was sent to support another in action, it saw nothing but bush in its front, and speedily came under a heavy fire of slugs from the enemy. In these circumstances, it

was difficult to keep the men from imagining that the enemy only were in their front, and they constantly wanted to open a fire which would have taken their own men, whom they were sent to support, directly in rear. All these difficulties were, however, overcome by the wonderful coolness and discipline of the men, and the admirable mode in which they were handled by the company officers. The orders to all were to regard the road as if the colours of the regiment were on it, and never to lose their connection with it ; but without the admirable sectional organisation introduced by his Excellency, and thoroughly carried out by the company officers, it would have been impossible to prevent the men getting out of hand. The Ashantis stood admirably, and kept up one of the heaviest fires I ever was under. While opposing our front attack with immensely superior numbers, they kept enveloping our left with a constant series of well-directed flank attacks. Major Baird, of the 42d, Major Home, R.E., and a great number of non-commissioned officers and men, were at this time wounded, and I was getting very anxious as to the result, and had applied to his Excellency for support, when the two left detached flank companies, which had themselves been heavily engaged, most opportunely came in and joined the reserve, having been unable to force their way through the bush sufficiently quickly to accompany the advance of the main column. Ordering these to replenish their ammunition immediately, I pushed the remaining reserve company into action, and very shortly after sent one of the flank companies, which had just returned, also to the front. The regiment had thus at this time seven companies extended and one in reserve." At 9.30 the Brigadier reported to headquarters: "I have now only one company in reserve, all the others

heavily engaged ; the enemy is holding his ground stoutly in the front and left flank ; some relief to my men would be advantageous, if possible, from the Rifle Brigade, as they are getting tired from this continuous fighting. Our loss in wounded is pretty severe."

While the front column was thus hotly engaged, Colonel M'Leod, on the arrival of the head of his column at the village of Egginassie, had pushed it along the path to the left, which two companies of the 42d had followed, and had then commenced to cut a path into the bush in a north-westerly direction, up a rather steep hill, conformably to the plan laid down by the Major-General, and in order to meet the extension of front of the 42d, on the left of the Coomassie road. Having cut to the utmost limit in that direction, Captain Buckle, R.E., in charge of the Engineer labourers, commenced cutting north, and endeavouring to urge his labourers on to keep pace with the rapid advance of the 42d down to the hollow on the right ; but so heavy a fire was brought to bear by the enemy on the head of the path thus being cut, that its progress was much delayed. The labourers of the working party began to fall rapidly, and were only induced to continue the work by the noble example of Captain Buckle, who fell mortally wounded while urging them on.

A path having been cut to the crest of a hill, shown in the accompanying sketch, a clearing was made there, in order to protect the troops from the enemy, who, from his concealment in the bush, was causing so much loss. From this point Lieutenant Palmer brought his rockets into action ; and, covered by their fire, the Houssa and Opobo companies of Russell's Regiment made a splendid advance, led by Captain Gordon and Lieutenant Dooner, driving the Ashantis from their camp which was found

here. Throughout all this time a very heavy fire had been brought to bear upon Colonel M'Leod's advancing column, from the bush on both sides of the path which was cut.

When Colonel M'Leod's column had cleared out from Egginassie, Colonel Wood, with the left wing of the Naval Brigade under Captain Luxmoore, advanced to a couple of hundred yards beyond the village, as far as the rear company of the 42d, and commenced cutting a path in a north-easterly direction. So heavy a fire, however, was here brought to bear upon him from both sides, that he was unable to advance; he therefore cut a clearing, as shown in the sketch, and his men lay down, and engaged in a heavy fire with the Ashantis, both to the north and to the south of their position.

Shortly after half-past nine, the Major-General, with the headquarters and the 23d Regiment, entered the village of Egginassie, and the Rifle Brigade reached the rear of the village. The Major-General found Captain Furse in command of the two companies of which Wood's Regiment consisted (the others having been left behind to garrison posts on the road), remaining to guard the village of Egginassie, to which the field hospitals had already advanced. Captain Furse had pushed out the Kossoos, under Lieutenant Woodgate, a short distance into the bush to the west of the village, and south of the path followed by Colonel M'Leod; while he had himself taken the Bonny company into the bush on the east of the village, facing Egginassie hill, from which, and from all the bush between the village and Colonel Wood's clearing, a very heavy fire was being kept up by the enemy.

The bush all round the village was exceedingly thick, quite too thick to be penetrated by our troops. On the

arrival of the Rifle Brigade, the Major-General ordered the detachment of the 23d—83 of all ranks—to the front to support Sir Archibald Alison, and ordered two companies of the Rifle Brigade to extend into the bush to the right and right rear of the village. The headquarters had not been five minutes in the village when the Brigadier's demand for surgeons arrived. Many of the 42d were lying badly wounded on the ground, and many more were returning wounded from the front. Captain Buckle was dying. The firing on the front was extremely heavy, and our troops did not appear to be advancing. Heavy firing, too, was going on in the direction of Colonel M'Leod's column, and on the right by Colonel Wood; while on both flanks of the village itself the enemy was making most persistent attacks. It was evident that we were opposed and outflanked by very superior numbers. But the Major-General had no doubt as to the result; and although the troops were set to work to make a clearing round the village, he would not even allow the houses to be loopholed, lest the mere fact of this being done should make the troops consider that he thought it possible we might have to fall back upon the village, and act on the defensive.

At a quarter to ten, the Brigadier's despatch of half-past nine, asking for a relief for the 42d, was received. At ten o'clock very heavy firing was heard on our left, preceded by loud cheering. This we now know to have been the advance of Russell's men to take the hill from the enemy. The Major-General now sent a company of the Rifle Brigade along Colonel M'Leod's road, with orders to advance about two hundred yards, and there extend. Just at this time a small party of the 42d was sent back for ammunition, and a messenger was at the

same time despatched by the Major-General to Insarfu, ordering 100 boxes of small-arm ammunition to be sent on to Egginassie.

At ten o'clock Colonel M'Leod wrote: "The communication on my side is lost with the 42d; give me time to cut up to you, and give directions. Send me Engineer workmen; all mine have bolted. Ashantis in thick bush on my front."

On receipt of this despatch at 10.15, and on receiving the report from Major Stephens of the Rifle Brigade, that there was a gap which ought to be filled up, another section of the Rifle Brigade was sent out along Colonel M'Leod's path, to complete, with the company already there, communications between Colonel M'Leod's Naval Brigade and Lieutenant Woodgate's Kossoos; and an officer was sent to Colonel M'Leod to inform him as to the movements of the main column.

At half-past ten the following despatch, dated "10 A.M., in front of Amoafu," was received from the Brigadier:—

"The enemy holding their ground steadily. We have lost many wounded. I have not yet been able to carry the village. I should like, if possible, a support of half a battalion of Rifles. I hear Colonel M'Leod on my left flank. Rait's artillery in action."

This report was brought in by Captain Russell, the Brigadier-General's aide-de-camp, who reported that the Ashantis were firing upon the main road between the position of the Brigadier and the village of Egginassie. Sir Garnet at once gave Captain Somerset's company of the Rifle Brigade to the Brigadier. Previous to this despatch being written by the Brigadier at ten o'clock, Major Macpherson had returned to him from the front, wounded in three places, one of which was a bad shot

through the ankle, and had reported that without further aid it would be impossible to force the passage on the main path. At once Major Rait's guns were ordered into action in front, Major Home having reported a favourable spot for them to come into action. Up to this time, the Brigadier says, it had been impossible, owing to the nature of the ground, to use the guns. "Nothing," says the Brigadier, "could exceed the skill and energy with which Captain Rait got his guns across the swamp and up the path; and one of them was speedily in action at a point where it fired up the ascent into the dense masses of the enemy crowded together for its defence. Fourteen or fifteen rounds fired in quick succession caused such a slaughter as shook the firmness of the Ashantis, and enabled the position to be carried with a rush. It was found to have covered a large camp. When this was passed through, a very strenuous opposition was renewed from the ridge behind it; and Rait again brought his gun into action. After its playing for some time, and a heavy rifle-fire having been concentrated on the spot, a fresh charge was made, and this position also carried. This was the last serious stand of the enemy. The breaking of their centre immediately diminished the severity of their flank attacks, which soon died away."

At the time when the company of the Rifle Brigade was sent to the Brigadier's support, Colonel Wood on the right was still heavily engaged with the enemy, and his men were lying down and firing outwards from the clearing both to the north and to the south, while Lieutenant Knox with his rockets was engaged at the corners of the main road where Colonel Wood's path diverged, firing in a north-easterly direction down into the hollow, which was still full of Ashantis.

The writer was now sent with orders to Colonel Wood



that he was, if possible, to wheel up his right and advance in a northerly direction, protecting the right flank of the 42d, with whom on his left he was to keep touch,—and arrived just in time to see Colonel Wood fall, struck by a slug on a rib above the heart, a wound which incapacitated him from duty for a few days. The order was accordingly given to Captain Luxmoore.

It is curious to notice how far the execution of the plan of operations ordered by the Major-General had differed in detail from the orders : and yet how completely in this as in all military operations, tactical or strategical, a true impulse given to the troops in the first instance almost invariably meets the reward of success.

At ten o'clock, when the 42d had advanced beyond the swamp, Colonel M'Leod had completely lost touch of them, and was but little advanced beyond the hill to the west of Egginassie, where Colonel Wood with his troops was still scarcely 200 yards from the village. Nevertheless, the object of the original movement had been obtained. The main body of the Ashantis was being driven back by the front column under Sir Archibald Alison, and separated by the swamp from another body which was being dealt with on the left by Colonel M'Leod, and a third body on the right, which was being dealt with by Colonel Wood's troops.

At a quarter to eleven, Colonel M'Leod reported that he was cutting a road a little east of north, but that communication with the 42d was not yet established. Several Houssas were wounded, but it was quiet before him just now.

In the mean time, such is the curious nature of this bush-warfare, although the 42d were progressing in front, both the 23d Fusiliers and the company of the Rifle

Brigade detached to the assistance of the Brigadier-General, had been hotly engaged on their own account. On arriving at the swamp, about a quarter to ten, Colonel Mostyn advanced his men, and they found the bush occupied by the enemy, and cleared it under hot fire, advancing through the enemy's camp to a considerable distance up the hill, Lieutenant Hutton and several men being wounded in the advance. The 42d Highlanders having advanced, and the enemy's fire being silenced in front of the 23d, Colonel Mostyn withdrew his men to the pathway, and followed in support of the 42d, halting in the pathway between Amoaful and the swamp, and keeping up communication with the 42d in front, and Captain Somerset's company of the Rifle Brigade in rear. Captain Somerset's company, also, though not sent to the front until after Rait's Artillery were in action on the hill leading to Amoaful, and although not proceeding beyond the swamp, had a sufficiently severe action on its own account with the enemy, and an officer and several men were wounded. Captain Somerset's company remained at the swamp keeping up communication between the 23d immediately in front of it, and a company of the 42d left in the rear.

During all this time, heavy firing was going on from Egginassie hill and the bush to the north of it, and the Naval Brigade on the right did not make any advance. Captain Furse's men were repeatedly and hotly attacked by the enemy, who at times approached apparently quite close, his slugs penetrating into the village. Colonel M'Leod, still cutting his road in a north-easterly direction, now sent in to headquarters to report that his men were being fired on by the 42d. This message was received at headquarters by 11.25, and no report having been received

from the Brigadier since that dated 10 A.M., when the enemy were holding their ground, and he had not been able to carry the village, a staff officer was sent out on the main road, with the double purpose of warning the troops on the road not to fire into Colonel M'Leod's column, and of ascertaining what was the condition of affairs at front. This turn of duty fell to the writer, and he was escorted by Lord Gifford and a few scouts. Between the corner of Colonel Wood's path, where the Naval Brigade were, and the point near Amoaful where the Brigadier was, there were at this time three companies keeping up the communication : one company of the 42d on the south side of the swamp, down to which they could not see owing to a bend of the path ; Captain Somerset's company of the Rifle Brigade at the swamp itself ; and some distance up the hill a detachment of the 23d.

It is quite probable that the company of the 42d south of the swamp had fired in the direction of Colonel M'Leod's advance, inasmuch as they had been hotly fired upon by the Ashantis from that quarter, and it is impossible in the bush to tell friends from enemies.

Both Captain Somerset's company and the 23d were engaged with parties of Ashantis in the bush on both sides of the road, and the long gaps between these companies were infested by detachments of the enemy, who fired upon us as we passed along. Along the whole road, but especially on the other side of the swamp where the great Ashanti camp was, the enemy's dead lay thick. Major Baird was lying badly wounded with the 23d, which had several men hit. At twenty-five minutes past eleven, Sir Archibald Alison, who was found with a company of the 42d about three hundred yards south of Amoaful, gave

the following report to the writer : "The enemy have been driven, after a very hard fight, from their last camp in our front ; we lost a great many men ; we could not have forced our way but for Rait's guns. The advance is now in dense bush, with apparently no enemy in front or flank. I have ordered him to go on slowly and cautiously to the edge of the village ; when he arrives there, he is to line the bush facing the village, send back, and report to me. He is on no account to attempt to rush the village till the guns have played upon it, fire from the bush has swept it, and its flanks have been turned. He is on no account to advance beyond the village, but to occupy it. I have one company of the 42d, one company of the 23d, and one of the Rifle Brigade still in reserve. One company in advance with myself on the path, and six companies in action in front. Major Ilome has' been hit twice, Major Macpherson three times, Major Baird and Lieutenants Munro and Berwick and others are wounded. I require the aid of a force on my right."

Just at this hour, 11.30, Colonel M'Leod reported that he was cutting east-north-east, and had not yet met the 42d, and that the bush was exceedingly dense. Colonel Mostyn came up to the Brigadier at this moment, and said that he had met Ashantis on the main road between his men and the Brigadier ; and the writer returning with an escort of the 42d, was very heavily fired upon in the gaps between the detachments keeping up communications north of the swamp. That the Ashantis were at this time actually breaking in upon the main road in the rear of the 42d was evidenced by the fact that one particular corpse, apparently that of a chief, which the writer on going out noticed as propped up in a sitting position against the corner of an Ashanti hut, had been, on his re-

turn half an hour later, carried away. Returning past the swamp, the writer met Captain Buller, who had taken orders to the Naval Brigade on the right to advance to the east of the path. This was difficult for them to do, owing to the thick bush, but they fired into the bush before them. One of the great difficulties and dangers of this bush-warfare lies in the probability of friendly troops firing into each other. The smallest deviation to the left of the rifle-barrels of the Naval Brigade firing northwards, made their bullets cross the main road; and the writer's escort had expressed disinclination to advance, because of the bullets of our own men which were flying over our heads.

The village of Amoaful was the objective point of the Brigadier's attack. From it a great road led to Becquah, a little more than a mile distant, and it was the highest point of the whole position. But little resistance was made by the enemy at this point; a few rounds from Rait's guns were fired into the village, and it was rushed by the 42d, the enemy flying at once in the wildest disorder, and leaving the ground strewn with the *débris* of a routed army.

At 12.20 P.M. the Brigadier reported: "The village of Amoaful is occupied by the 42d. Major Home has gone on with his Sappers to strengthen it, and clear the bush with his Sappers immediately round it. Major Macpherson wounded, and has been relieved by Major Scott. All is quiet on my front and left; there is heavy firing going on in my right rear. I have told Major Scott on no account to advance beyond the village of Amoaful without orders from me. I will not advance beyond the village of Amoaful without orders from you, as my right flank is quite in the air."

At the same time the Brigadier-General forwarded a report from Major Scott to the effect that Amoaful was large enough to contain the whole European force.

Before Amoaful was taken, Colonel M'Leod had cut his way into the main road a little south of the swamp, and the whole of the ground to the left between Egginassie and the swamp was now apparently clear of the enemy. Colonel M'Leod's troops advanced across the swamp, and kept up communication with the advance at Amoaful on the main road.

About one o'clock, heavy firing was renewed on the eastern side of the village of Egginassie ; and at about a quarter past one, Colonel Greaves, who had been sent to the front, returned to headquarters, and reported that our troops were lining the whole path to Amoaful in fair numbers, and that there was still a large force of Ashantis on the eastern side of the road.

Two companies of the Rifle Brigade were now extended to the north-east of the village, and, at about half-past one, the Bonny men under Captain Furse were ordered to advance and clear the bush. Cheering lustily, they advanced, drove the enemy before them, and occupied the hill of Egginassie, thence sweeping northwards towards the clearing made by the Naval Brigade.

By this time, a quarter to two, all firing had ceased ; and a message was sent back to Insarfu, ordering up the small-arm ammunition column to Amoaful, under an escort of police and the 2d West Indians. The Major-General also determined to send back the wounded to Insarfu, where the second field hospital had remained, and to get up the baggage to Amoaful. Shots were now heard in our rear, apparently a little north of Quarman ; and Captain Dugdale's company of the Rifle

Brigade was ordered to march from Egginassie to reinforce the garrison there. Colonel Colley, who had been at headquarters during the action, rendering valuable service as a staff officer, now started back along the road to bring up the regimental baggage from Insarfu, Captain Dugdale being ordered to escort it from Quarman ; and orders were issued for six companies of the Rifle Brigade to remain at Egginassie with the two companies of Wood's Regiment under Captain Furse.

At twenty minutes past two Sir Archibald Alison reported from Amoaful—"I have seven companies of the 42d here ; I have also one company of the 42d, one company of the 23d, and one company of the Rifles lining the road, and keeping up communications with you. If I receive no instructions before nightfall, I would propose to draw in the three latter companies into Amoaful for the night, and reopen my communication with you at day-break to-morrow morning." This report was received at Egginassie at three o'clock ; and at the same hour a report was received from Colonel Colley, dated 2.30, that the company of the Rifle Brigade was firing apparently hotly all round, the Ashantis were shouting, and the bearers of the convoys of sick would not go on. On receipt of this report, a second company of the Rifle Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant the Hon. J. C. Scott, was sent to the support of Captain Dugdale's company.

At three o'clock Colonel Colley reported from Quarman—"Quarman is warmly attacked ; garrisoned by a company and a half of the Rifle Brigade and 110 of the 2d West India Regiment. I have sent the other half-company of the Rifle Brigade back to look for the wounded, who are supposed to be following in our rear. The road is at present entirely impassable for coolies and

baggage-trains." This half-company marched to Egginassie without encountering any enemy on the road ; and a few minutes afterwards, a small party bringing a medical comfort-box and six hammocks arrived from Insarfu, reporting the road clear the whole way, except that there were some Ashantis to the westward. The road between Quarman and Insarfu was constantly patrolled from the latter place.

Captain Dugdale, on arrival at Quarman, found the Ashantis in very considerable numbers pressing hard upon the garrison. He at once extended the Rifle Brigade, drove the enemy back from the clearing around the village into the bush, and then returning lined the intrenchment round the village. Previously to his arrival, Captain Burnett of Russell's Regiment was in command, with three officers, twelve Royal Engineers, fifty-three 2d West Indians, and thirty Winnebahs.

Captain Burnett had been attacked about one o'clock from the south-west, and had at once sent back to Colonel Webber at Insarfu for reinforcements, holding his own till the arrival of the Rifle Brigade. Lieutenant Scott's company of the Rifle Brigade arrived with Colonel Colley about three ; and about four o'clock Colonel Colley took Captain Dugdale's company about four hundred yards down the road in the direction of Egginassie, and there turned into the bush to the left, advancing some distance and firing some volleys into the Ashantis, which caused their fire to cease. In the mean time Colonel Colley pushed on to Insarfu with some native troops, and commenced collecting the whole of the transport, regimental baggage, ammunition, &c., and a strong escort, with a view to bringing it forward to Amoaful.

Firing had now ceased ; but about five o'clock the Ash-



antis again opened fire upon Quarman. At the same time the large convoy of baggage and ammunition, nearly five miles long, had started from Insarfu for Quarman, under an escort of the 2d W.I. Regiment. On approaching within a thousand yards of Quarman, Colonel Colley, who was returning with this convoy, found that village attacked both from the north and from the south ; and the Ashantis attacking the south turned on the convoy. Colonel Colley, it is needless to say, did all that was in his power to do ; but a panic ensued amongst the carriers, a quantity of baggage was thrown down, and Colonel Colley was swept away in the crowd. Captain Dugdale found out at Quarman what was going on, sent Lieutenant Scott's company of the Rifle Brigade and a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment to drive the enemy away, and an engagement took place between them and the enemy, who was in great numbers in the bush at the edge of the road. Fighting continued on the road till about half-past six, when, owing to the numbers of the enemy and the darkness, Captain Dugdale ordered Lieutenant Scott to fall back to Quarman. Several loads of baggage were thrown down on the road ; and two men of the Rifle Brigade and two of the 2d West Indians were wounded. Colonel Colley had taken back all the baggage that he possibly could to Insarfu, collecting the steadiest men about him, and trying to make an orderly retreat, and thence returned with small parties under escort during the night, brought in all the baggage that he could, and left all the remainder that he could find parked under a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment.

In the mean time the Major-General, with the head-quarter staff, had proceeded to Amoaful ; and at ten

o'clock at night all the companies on the road between Egginassie and Amoaful were called in to the latter place, Colonel Warren being left with four companies of the Rifle Brigade to hold Egginassie.

Major Sotheby's company of the Rifle Brigade, which was sent back to Insarfufu in charge of a convoy of wounded, though much fired into from the bush, delivered them safely at Insarfufu ; and Colonel Colley marched at night with this company, Baker's police, and some Engineer labourers from Insarfufu. Dropping the Rifles at Quarman, he came on with the police and labourers, and arrived at headquarters at Amoaful at midnight. He suggested that the six companies of the Rifle Brigade at Egginassie, with three companies of the 42d from Amoaful, should be sent in the early morning to guard the road the whole way from Amoaful to Insarfufu, being broken up into strong picquets all along the road, and thus protecting the convoy. Orders were issued accordingly. With convoys of such a length as that which had now to make its way from Insarfufu to Amoaful, the difficulty of providing a sufficient escort, where the march has to be conducted along a narrow bush-road, is almost insuperable ; by lining the road, however, and showing white men at comparatively short intervals along its whole length, a convoy is thoroughly protected.

Thus ended our first day's very heavy fighting, extending along two and a half miles of road, and lasting from one part or another of the line for more than twelve hours. Speaking of the share in the action of the column under his immediate command, upon which the brunt of the fighting fell, the Brigadier-General thus wrote : "The firing commenced about eight o'clock, and Amoaful

was carried between one and two.\* During this time the fighting was incessant ; indeed it is impossible to conceive a more severe action than went on. The heavy loss suffered by the 42d is the best proof of this, nearly every fourth man having been hit. The loss of the enemy must have been enormous. The main path was covered with dead ; and I do not believe that they could have lost less than between 2000 and 3000 in killed and wounded. They stood admirably, came close up to our men, and evidently fought to win ; but their final rout was complete, and by four o'clock Lord Gifford's scouts had reported that their whole centre and right was dispersed, and in full flight. As his Excellency knows much better than I do, their left was engaged till long after this in a flank attack against the forces under his own immediate command at Egginassie, and in threatening our communications between that place and Quarman.

“It is impossible for me to speak in too high terms of that magnificent regiment, the 42d Highlanders ; their steadiness and discipline, the admirable way in which they were kept in hand by their officers, and the enthusiastic gallantry with which every charge was executed, exceed all praise. I have particularly to bring to your notice the excellent manner in which the attack was conducted by Major Cluny Macpherson, and the unflinching gallantry which he displayed. Though wounded in three places, he positively refused to quit the field until the village of Amoaful, which I had directed him to attack, was secured.” The Brigadier also brought to special notice the conduct of Major Scott, Major Baird, Lieutenant and Adjutant Stephenson, Lieutenant Cumberland,

\* Amoaful must have been carried by noon, as at 12.20 P.M. the Brigadier reported it occupied by the 42d, and steps taken to intrench it.

Lieutenant Berwick, and Quartermaster Forbes of this regiment, as also the conduct of Colonel Mostyn; the cool, judicious manner in which Captain Somerset of the Rifle Brigade handled his company; and the admirable manner in which Captain Rait brought up and served his guns at the most critical period of the action. "Without their assistance," he wrote, "I do not think that even all the gallantry of the 42d could have carried the position."

The Brigadier also mentioned the services of Major Home, Royal Engineers, and Lord Gifford, and the officers of his brigade and personal staff. "The necessity," he wrote, "for perfect coolness, and the constant exposure to risk on the part of the staff, is greater in this bush-warfare than in any other which I have seen."

Colonel M'Leod brought to notice the gallantry of Captain Buckle, and praised Dr Turton for his unremitting attention to the wounded at the head of the road, and for having at the same time set an example of calm and resolute courage, so much required in a service of this sort. He also brought the services of his staff officers to notice, as never having spared themselves during the day, and contributing much, under trying circumstances, to keep the prescribed order of advance. Captain Grubbe, of the Royal Navy, was severely wounded in the hand in leading his wing of the Naval Brigade in Colonel M'Leod's column; and there is no doubt that both he and Major Russell, and the officers under them, had distinguished themselves by their coolness and courage.

In consequence of Colonel Wood's wound, no report was received from him as to the movements of the right column. He himself, always standing up in the very midst of the fight, had set a rare example, as he always does, to all those under his command; and Commander

Luxmoore had not been behindhand in seconding his chief. The Major-General's despatch, praising the officers in command, mentioned also the assistance he had received from Commodore Hewett, and from his staff, and the excellent arrangements made for the wounded by Surgeon-Major Mackinnon.

"It is difficult," wrote the Major-General, "to estimate the number of an enemy in thick bush, still more difficult to estimate his loss; but the Ashantis must have numbered many thousands: and as we have buried 150 corpses beside the main road only, and as the enemy run great risks to carry off their dead, their loss in killed and wounded must have been very heavy."

We learnt, however, with certainty, that Amanquatia had commanded in the action and had been killed; and that the King of Mampon was severely wounded.

The numbers engaged on our side in this action were as follows:—

	Officers.	Europeans.	Natives
Major-General and Headquarter Staff, . . . . .	7	0	0
Brigade Staff, . . . . .	4	0	0
Rait's Artillery (2 guns and 4 rocket detachments), . . . . .	4	7	52
Royal Engineers and officers attached, and native labourers, . . . . .	5	31	130
Royal Naval Brigade, . . . . .	19	170	0
23d R. W. Fusiliers, . . . . .	5	77	0
42d Highlanders, . . . . .	27	489	0
Rifle Brigade, . . . . .	30	582	0
Wood's Regiment, . . . . .	7	0	226
Russell's Regiment, . . . . .	7	0	300
Control Department, including transport officers attached, . . . . .	5	0	0
Army Medical Department, . . . . .	14	0	0
Army Hospital Corps, . . . . .	0	19	0
Total,	134	1375	708

In addition to this, the headquarters and a detachment of the 2d West India Regiment were engaged, with a party of Wood's Regiment, in the repulse of the enemy at Quarman, and in the defence of the convoy ; three companies of the Rifle Brigade were also engaged in this affair.

The casualties on our side at Amoaful were as follows :—

Killed—Captain Buckle, R.E. ; two privates, 42d Highlanders ; and one Kossou, Wood's Regiment.

Wounded—

R.E.,	1 officer	4 men.
Rait's Artillery, . . .	0 "	1 "
23d Fusiliers, . . .	1 "	3 "
42d Highlanders, . . .	9 "	104 "
Rifle Brigade, . . .	3 "	6 "
Wood's Foot, . . .	1 "	6 "
Russell's Foot, . . .	0 "	17 "
Scouts, . . .	0 "	6 "
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Total wounded for the Army,	15 "	147 "
Naval Brigade, . . .	6 "	26 "
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	21 "	173 "

It will be seen how small was the percentage of killed to that of wounded ; but it was to be feared that at this distance from the coast, in this treacherous climate, and under the necessity of being conveyed a long journey in hammocks, many of those wounded would suffer terribly in health, if indeed no worse fate should befall them. We had but one officer killed to lament (Captain Buckle), who had won all our hearts by his devotion to his work, and by his charming simple modesty. He died as he had lived, bravely and quietly doing his duty ; and his corps has lost in him an officer whom it might well have been proud to

send as its representative wherever work was to be done that required a man's resolution and gallantry.

One soldier of the 42d had been surrounded when in advance of his company, shot down, and instantly decapitated. Many among the wounded suffered very severely ; and amongst those who afterwards died in consequence of their wounds in this action was Major Baird, who lived till the ship which was carrying him home reached Sierra Leone, and then died, regretted by every officer and man of his regiment, and by all who had known him.

Our losses in this action sadly diminished the little force already so much thinned by sickness. Of the 1550 European N.C. officers and men who had originally landed with the Rifle Brigade, 42d, 23d, and the Naval Brigade, only 1375 were present at Amoaful, nearly 200 having thus succumbed to sickness, or about 12 per cent, in the space of one month.

What the work of this day had been to the troops, officers and men, cannot be appreciated by any one who has never been on the Gold Coast ; for until it has been felt, no one can possibly realise the exhausting, depressing, enervating nature of the climate, which renders every exertion a burden, and saps the powers of mind and body.

While the action at Amoaful was going on, a treasure escort of the 1st West India Regiment, under the command of Assistant-Commissary Lundy, was fired into by a small party of Ashantis about 100 yards from Dompooassie. The escort returned the fire, and the carriers dropped their loads and ran away. No one was wounded, but the enemy secured Mr Lundy's cash-box, ledger, clothing, bedding, &c., and about £80 of Government money. Captain North, of the 47th Regiment, immediately marched from Fommanah with a party of the 1st West

India Regiment and Russell's Regiment to Dompooassie. They found no trace of the enemy, and left a detachment of Russell's Regiment at Dompooassie for the night.

At daybreak on the 1st February the road was lined from Amoaful to Insarfufu by the 42d and the Rifle Brigade ; and the convoy of baggage and ammunition was brought from Insarfufu without any opposition. During the night, about half-past three, a few Ashantis had been seen crossing the road between Quarman and Insarfufu from west to east. When the convoy arrived, the 42d were called in, and orders were issued for an attack to be made upon Becquah, towards which Captain Buller and Lord Gifford scouted at daybreak. This attack was intrusted to Brigadier-General Sir A. Alison, and the following troops were placed under his orders : The Naval Brigade, 1 gun and 1 rocket detachment Rait's Artillery, detachment Royal Engineers with labourers, headquarters and detachment 23d R.W. Fusiliers, headquarters and 5 companies 42d Highlanders, Russell's Regiment, and Lord Gifford's scouts. The force was divided into an advanced-guard and main body. The advanced-guard was under the command of Colonel M'Leod, C.B., and consisted of the Naval Brigade, gun and rocket detachments Rait's Artillery, and Russell's Regiment, with the Engineers and scouts. The main body, consisting of the 23d Fusiliers and 5 companies of the 42d Highlanders, followed in reserve. The advanced-guard left Amoaful at 1 P.M. in the following order : Lord Gifford's scouts in advance, followed by the Houssa company of Russell's Regiment, 1 company of the Naval Brigade, and Engineer labourers clearing the road ; the remainder of Russell's Regiment, Rait's Artillery, and the remainder of the Naval Brigade.



The path followed was one of the ordinary native tracks with dense bush on either side. At about twenty minutes past one, Colonel M'Leod having received a report from Lord Gifford that the scouts had reached the village, ordered him immediately to advance, and the Houssas to support him. Lord Gifford with his scouts forced the entrance into the town, which consisted of a large irregular open square, the houses in which had been loopholed. The enemy contested it somewhat vigorously, and evidently intended to make a serious resistance. Sixteen or seventeen of Lord Gifford's scouts were wounded, and for a time he was in a critical position ; but having forced the opening of the village the opposition grew less. The effect of the previous day's action both upon the enemy and upon our men was, said Colonel M'Leod, very apparent. When the Naval Brigade came up, the enemy was pursued into every part of the town, by far the largest yet met with north of the Prah. A few of our men were wounded, and one sailor was killed. Very heavy loss was suffered by the enemy, who retreated in considerable force along the open space, endeavouring to draw off their dead, in doing which they were fired into by the Druid's detachment.

There was no necessity for the main body to take any part in the action, the brunt of which fell upon Lord Gifford and his scouts. In the report subsequently made by Sir Garnet Wolseley, recommending Lord Gifford for the Victoria Cross, he was specially recommended for his conduct in this action, where his gallantry and courage were most conspicuous.

The town was set on fire, and the entrance and eastern portion of it occupied by part of the main body. Through these the Brigadier withdrew the whole of the advanced-

guard except Rait's Artillery, which he retained. When the advanced-guard was well clear of the town, the main body filed off. One company of the 42d was, however, kept concealed behind some houses at an angle of the main street; and when a considerable number of the enemy had returned into the town and were crossing the main street, threatening to harass the rear-guard, the company was wheeled up and dispersed them with a few volleys. The return to camp was entirely unmolested by the enemy. Major Scott, commanding the 42d, was specially mentioned for his conduct in command of the rear-guard. Colonel M'Leod brought to notice the services of his staff officers, amongst whom on this occasion was Lieutenant Maurice, R.A., the Major-General's private secretary.

In the mean time orders had been sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Warren at Egginassie, who had assembled six companies there after the passage of the convoy, to ascertain with certainty if there was any party of Ashantis near the road between Quarman and Insarfu; and if there should turn out to be any there, to clear them out with his battalion. These orders were sent in consequence of a report from Colonel Colley that the noise of apparently a large party of Ashantis had been heard to the west of the road a little south of Quarman during the night and in the early morning. Colonel Colley, with that boundless energy which he always displayed, had started back along the road at a quarter to five in the morning, having arrived at Amoaful at midnight and spent most of the night in writing. Colonel Warren was ordered when this operation was completed, or if there were no Ashantis in the neighbourhood, to move his entire battalion to Amoaful, leaving only the 2d West India Regiment at Quarman, and Wood's Regiment only at Egginassie. Orders were given

to the officers left in command of the posts at Quarman and Egginassie that if their posts were attacked they were not only to hold them but to clear the enemy away. A scouting-party was sent out from Quarman, finding no trace of Ashantis ; and towards the middle of the day the whole of the Rifle Brigade marched to Amoaful. It had been intended to employ the Rifle Brigade and not the 42d in the attack on Becquah, but they were too late in coming into Amoaful.

We had now intrenched posts at Ahkankuassie, Insarfu, Quarman, and Egginassie, on the road between Fommanah and Amoaful.

In the course of this afternoon an escort and convoy under the command of Lieutenant Pollock were fired on about half a mile to the north of Dampoassie on their way to the front. One of the carriers was killed, two were wounded, and the remaining 88 ran away, with the exception of 12. The loads were, however, conveyed back to Dampoassie ; fresh carriers were obtained from Fommanah, and the convoy arrived in safety at Ahkankuassie about seven in the evening.

These attacks upon our convoys were to a certain extent to be expected. We had broken up a large force of the enemy ; it was absolutely impossible to clear the whole bush ; marauding parties might be expected on the flanks of the road, and all that could be done was to secure the convoys by strong escorts, to patrol frequently between all the posts, and to push out detachments along the tracks into the bush. Orders to this effect were issued to all the posts on the road.

During the day, the headquarters had halted at Amoaful. The Major-General, the Brigadier-General, and their staffs were quartered in the chief's house, which resembled

on a very small scale the king's palace at Fommanah. Our previous night's rest had been somewhat disturbed by anxiety about our baggage, which had formed part of the convoy under Colonel Colley, attacked between Quarman and Insarfu; and on the morning of the 1st February, anxious were the looks that were directed towards the convoy as it appeared. Some of us were destined to disappointment: Colonel Greaves lost a despatch-box containing most important documents, his notes on the campaign, some valuable instruments, and a considerable sum of money; and the writer lost, among other things, his waterproof sheet and bedding.

Amoaful was the first place that we had seen with the large open central square that appears to be characteristic of the larger towns of Ashanti, permitting a free circulation of air, as well as being admirably suited as a parade-ground or bivouac for troops. In all other respects it resembled Fommanah. In the centre of this great market-place were a number of trees, under which the hospital of the 42d was placed. A great number of bundles of Indian corn and plantains, made up all ready to be carried away by the enemy, were found in the town, and were collected and stored under a guard, furnishing most valuable supplies for our carriers, to whom Indian corn was a real luxury.

Parties of labourers had been sent back along the road to bury the dead, who were lying thick by the side of the path. In one place, where Rait's Artillery had been in action, about forty dead bodies lay close together, showing by the nature of the wounds the unmistakable effect of shell-fire. There must have been hundreds of bodies lying in the bush, and many wounded who could not crawl away; but we had no time to search for these, and

it was all we could do to find men to bury the corpses along the path,—a precaution absolutely necessary on sanitary grounds. A large number of dead, also, were found in and around the town of Amoafu itself, and were subsequently buried by the 2d West India Regiment. A strong intrenchment was commenced in the course of the day at the northern end of the town.





## CHAPTER V.

THE FINAL ADVANCE—PASSAGE OF THE RIVER ORDAH—ACTION OF ORDAH SU—ENTRY INTO COOMASSIE—THE TOWN AND PALACE—THEIR EVACUATION AND DESTRUCTION.

AT daybreak on the 2d February the whole force advanced from Amoafu. The advanced-guard, under Colonel M'Leod, marched in the following order : Lord Gifford's scouts, Russell's Regiment, detachment of Royal Engineers, one gun of Rait's Artillery, one company of the Rifle Brigade. The main body followed under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison, marching as follows :—

One company of the Rifle Brigade.  
Detachment of Royal Engineers.  
Rait's Artillery, one gun and rockets.  
Rifle Brigade.  
23d Fusiliers.  
42d Highlanders.  
Field Hospitals.  
Naval Brigade.

Two days' rations were issued to the troops, to be carried by them in their haversacks, two days' more being carried by the spare hammock-bearers of the regimental transport. A fifth day's rations were ultimately brought on by part of the 4th transport division. The advanced-guard was ordered to halt at Aggemnamu and report.



At 7.20 a few shots were heard, but no very serious resistance was encountered. At 7.40 Colonel M'Leod reported—"I am in Jarbinbah with slight resistance, and much wild fire from Russell's Regiment. Only a few men killed. European troops in front would have done more effective execution. So far as I know yet, not a man touched. Ashantis also firing wildly from long ranges; some of them have gone, I should say, to Becqua."

What had happened at Jarbinbah was this; an ambuscade was discovered in the swampy ground covering the approach to the place, with the enemy in some force in a strong natural position behind the ambuscade. The Opobo company of Russell's Regiment, under Lieutenant Dooner, skirmished to the front, and behaved very well. The ground, though very difficult of approach, was not held with their usual tenacity by the enemy, and their fire was opened out of range. The Opobo company having driven them out, the Sierra Leone company was marched to the front, and cleared the village with a rush. Lieutenant Hart then opened fire on the fugitives flying through the street, and killed a few men, but the fire of his men was not very effective. Lieutenant Hart, Captain Gordon, and Lieutenant Wauchope, orderly officer to Colonel M'Leod, were slightly wounded with slugs on the swampy ground in front of the ambuscade.

Captain Buller had been sent on with the advanced-guard. At half-past 8 he reported from Jarbinbah—"Adwabin next. The guide is so positive that Ashantis would be gathered at Adwabin, at the meeting of the Becqua road, that I go on to tell Colonel M'Leod. At present rate of advance we shall be at Adwabin by

noon. The Brigadier has authorised Colonel M'Leod to put the Rifle Brigade in front, as latter complained of excessive waste of ammunition by Russell's Regiment. Colonel M'Leod estimates the force driven hence at 1000—they fled west." The passage of the advanced-guard was more or less opposed at each village on the road, but without any very serious opposition it passed through Assiminia, Esumgah, and Bipposu, and reached Aggemmamu, pushing out picquets for a considerable distance down the two roads which led in a northerly and north-westerly direction from that place to Coomassie.

At a point south of Esumgah, Colonel M'Leod had left half a company of Winnebaws under Lieutenant De Hoghton, to protect the cross-road leading to Ashanti-Mansu, a mile or so east of the main road. He had caused, in order to protect the convoy of baggage which was to follow in rear, this village to be destroyed by a small party under command of Major Russell. Half the Naval Brigade was left at Assiminia, and the rear company of the 42d at Bipposu, which is situated on the top of a high hill. Another picquet was left at a point between Bipposu and Aggemmamu, where the main road branches off eastward to Kokofoo.

The advanced-guard arrived at Aggemmamu at 12.40, and the main body soon after; and the Major-General decided that he would not attempt to advance further that day, as it would evidently be late before the baggage could arrive. In the afternoon, however, Colonel M'Leod was ordered to scout to Adwabin, and, if possible, to occupy that place with the advanced-guard. At 5 P.M. he reported: "Just arrived here; no opposition, only a few Ashanti muskets fired as signal guns apparently on our approach. Every appear-

ance of a stampede along the road—the rush of a multitude through a narrow way. I shall halt for the night. It is good  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to this place. I send half a company of natives back to escort baggage. Scouts killed two Ashantis at first village out from Aggem-mamu.” . \*

The baggage had been left at Amoaful, and not brought on with the column, it being uncertain whether we might not have to fight another action on this day; but when Captain Buller returned from Aggem-mamu, reporting the advanced-guard in occupation of that place, the Major-General sent him back to Amoaful to bring on the convoy. It was escorted by detachments from each regiment; and the detachments left at Jarbinbah, Assiminia, the cross-roads, and Bipposu, remained in position till the rear of the convoy had passed their respective posts, and then followed as a rear-guard.

The Naval Brigade in rear of the convoy did not arrive at Aggemmamu till after dark. No attack had been made upon the convoy, but several Ashantis had been seen upon the road at various points, and had fired on our small patrols. The only casualties in this day's action were three officers slightly wounded. Russell's Regiment, 286 strong, had fired 2010 rounds of ammunition.

Colonel Colley had brought in the large convoy from Insarfu to Amoaful on the morning of the 1st, and had learnt the Major-General's intentions as to the movements of the 2d. In the afternoon he returned to Ahkankuassie, and found there the convoy which had been fired at on the previous day, as already related.

On the morning of the 2d he pushed on to Fom-

manah, and on his arrival found the place warmly attacked on all sides. The post was in command of Captain Steward, 1st W.I.R., who had a garrison of 1 officer and 38 non-commissioned officers and men, 1st West India Regiment; and Lieut. Grant, 6th Regiment, with 102 of the Mumford company of Russell's Regiment. There were also present two transport officers—Captain North of the 47th Regiment, and Captain Duncan, R.A.—three surgeons, and two control officers; and in the palace, which was situated in the middle of the main street of the long straggling town, and used as a hospital, were 24 European soldiers and sailors, convalescents. The picquets had reported Ashantis in the neighbourhood early in the morning, and had been reinforced; but the village was far too large to be capable of defence by this small garrison; and when, about 8.30 A.M., the place was attacked from all directions by the enemy, they were able to penetrate into it. Captain North, in virtue of his seniority, assumed the command, but while at the head of his men was shot down in the street of the village, and was obliged by severe loss of blood to hand over the command to Captain Duncan, R.A. The enemy, as has been said, penetrated into all the southern side of the village, which they set on fire; meanwhile the sick from the hospital were removed to the stockade at the north end of the village, which was cleared as rapidly as possible, the houses being pulled down by the troops and labourers acting under Colonel Colley's orders.

At half-past two Colonel Colley reported as follows: "We have now cleared the greater part of the village, preserving the hospital and store enclosure. Difficult to judge of numbers of the Ashantis; they attack on all

sides, and occasional ones creep boldly into the village, but generally keep under cover of the thick bush, which in places comes close to the houses." The firing ceased about 1 P.M.; but on a party going down for water an hour later, they were hotly fired upon. No further attack was made upon the post. Captain North was very severely wounded, a sailor dangerously so, and one of the convalescents in the 42d Regiment severely.

Other Europeans were slightly wounded, among them Captain Duncan, R.A., five West Indians, and three privates of Russell's Regiment. Colonel Colley reported that he would be unable to move any more convoys on from Fommanah for the present.

This attack on Fommanah seriously interfered with the transport arrangements. Hitherto, though a few shots had been fired at different convoys, the panics and difficulties had always been overcome by the energy of the transport officers; but the vigour and strength of this attack frightened the carriers so thoroughly that it was impossible to move them for some days, and it seemed doubtful whether any more convoys could be got to the front until the arrival of the 23d Regiment, which was on its march up, but could not reach Fommanah before the 5th. The first convoy which did push through after this was one of Naval Kroomen, under Lieutenant Smyth, R.N., just sent up country. It reached Aggemmamamu on the 6th, and met the troops with supplies, on their return from Coomassie, on the following day.

There are no other movements of importance to relate on this day. Colonel Webber at Amoaful commenced clearing away the village round his post, and

the Bonny company of Wood's Regiment was brought from Egginassie to Amoaful, the headquarters of Wood's Regiment remaining intrenched at Egginassie with one company.

The force was now concentrated at Aggemmamu with four days' supplies ; and Colonel Colley having undertaken that in five days' time a fresh convoy of provisions should arrive at Aggemmamu, the Major-General decided upon making his further advance upon Coomassie as a flying column.

The difficulties connected with the advance of our large convoy of regimental baggage had been already sufficiently shown on the 31st January and the 2d February. On the 31st this great convoy had been attacked when attempting to join us after the action, had fallen back, and not joined us until the following day, when all our European troops were used to escort it along the road ; and now on the 2d, although we had only advanced some seven miles, the convoy did not arrive till after dark, many of the European troops being in consequence kept out till that hour for its protection. We were now within fifteen miles of Coomassie, and if we were to reach it at all, we should be there in two days. It was never the Major-General's intention to stay there for any time. Our action must be short, sharp, and decisive, so as to withdraw the European troops again at once ; and whether we should fight or not fight—whether we should make a treaty with the king or have to destroy his capital—under any of these conditions we were certain to be out of Coomassie again in four or five days. The men of the European Brigade were asked whether they would undertake to make their rations for four

days last if necessary for six, and they all responded most willingly and cheerfully to the request.

Accordingly orders were issued on the afternoon of the 2d to the following effect :—

“ 1. The force will advance at daybreak to-morrow.

“ 2. Every man to carry a day's biscuit in his haversack.

“ 3. All baggage will be left here, and any weakly men who may be unable to march will be left in charge of it.

“ 4. Each regiment to have a portion of the village told off to it in which to store its baggage.

“ 5. Officers only to take with them what their native servant can carry.

“ 6. Men to carry their greatcoats.

“ 7. The greatcoats of the two companies of Rifle Brigade on advanced-guard to be sent on to them this evening.

“ 8. The blue-jackets of the Naval Brigade will carry substitute for the greatcoat.

“ 9. Return of the number of weakly men to be sent at once to the A.A. General.

“ 10. Regiments will take with them their regimental reserve ammunition.

“ 11. The S.A. Reserve Ammunition Column will accompany the force.

“ 12. Also the Field Hospital.

“ 13. Arrangements will be made similar to those to-day for carrying the men's rations.

“ 14. A captain of the European Brigade will be detailed to take over command of the weakly men left at this post.”

Captain Cope of the Rifle Brigade was left in com-

mand of the post at Aggemmamu, and on the morning of the 3d, a company of Russell's Regiment was sent back to him from Adwabin. All the afternoon of the 2d had been occupied in making a great clearing round the post—Major Home and Lieutenants Bell and Hare having actively superintended this work in person; and on our departure on the morning of the 3d, Captain Cope proceeded to intrench his post in a most vigorous manner. The importance of Aggemmamu could scarcely be overestimated. From it two roads led to Coomassie, by the longer of which we were about to march, disregarding the shorter or easternmost of the two. Our information was all to the effect that the road to the left was the main road to Coomassie; and that, though somewhat longer than the other, it was in every way far better. It was on this road that we were led to expect whatever further opposition we should meet; but at the same time, it was of course of vital importance that the point at the junction of the roads should be securely held as a base for our flying column, and as a point of support upon which, if necessary, to fall back.

On the arrival of the head of the column at Adwabin on the morning of the 3d, Colonel M'Leod moved with the force under his command forward on the Coomassie road, Lord Gifford's scouts in front, followed by Russell's Regiment. In three quarters of an hour the enemy was felt at a stream, behind which, on rising ground in dense bush, he had taken up his position, and whence he opened a heavy fire upon our advanced-guard. Colonel M'Leod at once cleared the bush on the left flank, brought up the 7-pounder gun of the



advanced-guard, and opened upon his position with shell. 24 rounds were fired, with satisfactory results. A company of the Rifle Brigade, with a second in support, and a third from the main body held in readiness to meet an attack if made elsewhere, advanced by a clearing cut by the Engineer labourers to the left front, while Russell's Regiment on the main road made for the crest of the hill. After a sharp and short action, the enemy was driven away, with a few slug-shot wounds on our side, and a considerable loss upon his. Lord Gifford had been for a short time at the commencement of this action in a most perilous position, having become, with his scouts, temporarily separated from the remainder of the advanced-guard; and he displayed a coolness and quiet courage under these circumstances which, perhaps, entitled him to his Victoria Cross even more notably than any of his other services. He had 1 scout killed and 7 others wounded out of his small party. In a few minutes 10 of Russell's force were wounded, including Lieutenant Barton of the 7th Regiment, and 6 men of the Rifle Brigade.

After this obstinate engagement the advanced-guard continued to move forward, though slowly, owing to the numbers of ambuscades, from behind which the enemy fired, inflicting some loss upon us at almost every discharge.

At 11 o'clock Colonel Colley arrived from Fommanah, and joined the headquarters at the stream which had been so stubbornly held by the enemy. He had brought up 150 loads of provisions to join the force, completing the quantity with us to between 5 and 6 days' supplies for the whole force. He brought us the

news of the attack upon Fommanah, and explained the difficulties which he thought might now attend the further immediate advance of supplies from that point.

At half-past 11 messengers arrived from Coomassie, bearing a flag of truce and the following letter from the king, in the handwriting, as had been all those received since our arrival at the Prah, of Mr Dawson :—

“ KUMASSI, 4th February 1874.

“ MY GOOD FRIEND,—I beg to write this to acquaint your Excellency that I am willing to meet your Excellency's demands, but only your Excellency's very rapid movement puts me into confusion. Regarding the hostages and the money, if your Excellency would allow me, I beg that you will let us do it in the same as late Governor Maclean did. Because my old mother and young brother are my both counsellors and helpers in every way. I acknowledge the wrong done by Ammankwatea, and he will surely be punished by making to pay the sum your Excellency demand. About the prisoners, fearing that some may be excited and hurt himself, I have put them all in iron ; and as soon as your Excellency stay to give the time, I will send them all.

“ Mr Dawson your messenger begs to add few words of his. Your Excellency will to listen your humble servant's entreaty now to stay few days where your Excellency has reached with the forces, as our lives are now in danger. I was taken from iron to write this letter, and instead of being together we are placed in different places. I beg to say that they feel now the strong battle they have had, and the King now

say he will withdraw his forces if your Excellency would promise to remain where you are to have the matters properly arranged. No doubt we will all be killed if your Excellency do not stay: I send now my cane-bearer instead of my servant. The king is anxious to meet your demands, but he finds the money too heavy. He desires to hint your Excellency with his best respect. We beg to be your Excellency's obedient servants, for his Majesty Kofi Kalkaree,

(Signed) "YAW BUSUMMURUTINYA ✕ his mark.

„ "KUEKU BUSUMMURUGWIRA ✕ his mark.  
"King's private Counsellors."

Accompanying this letter was the following, from Mr Dawson :—

"KUMASSI, *February 3, 1874.*

"SIR,—After the first letter dictated by the king, his chiefs have also begged me to beg of your Excellency to stop your forces where you have reached, and that they will see that every demand is attended to amicably. The prisoners will be sent directly this messengers return with your Excellency's promise to stay them. I humbly beg your Excellency on my knees, to let the forces stop, and everything will be settled. I see now they have send to do what is right, and trust your Excellency will not fight them again, as they intend to withdraw the forces. I am in haste.

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Signed) "JOS. DAWSON.

"P.S.—The chiefs desire me to ask your Excellency to stop the court if your Excellency agree to stay, and send my cane-bearer to take the prisoners directly. I pray your Excellency to stop the forces from fighting

if his troop do not bring it to your Excellency. The king's now, and that he will do your wishes.

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "COFI BUAKI ✕ his mark,  
"Linguist."

There was no mistaking the tenor of this. The king wanted time again, and was beginning to grow very anxious. But Mr Dawson's anxiety was evidently far greater than his. Mr Dawson, if he were not acting in the enemy's interests, was clearly writing under the influence of personal fear, having been threatened with evil consequences to himself should he not induce the Major-General to stop his forces.

It was now close upon noon, and we had yet a considerable distance to march to the river Ordah. The river was wide and deep, and could not well be crossed by the European troops without a bridge; and it was evident that even without further opposition from the enemy, it would be almost impossible to reach Coomassie that night. There was no doubt, moreover, that further opposition must be expected. It was extracted from the king's messengers that the Ashantis had run away the night before, saying that we were advancing; but that this morning the *débris* of the Ashanti army of Amoaful, with reinforcements from Coomassie, had come out, and were making a camp on the north side of the river Ordah: a necessary preliminary with them to fighting an action. The messengers said there were 10,000 men at the first village on the other side of the river. Mr Dawson, moreover, sent a message to the effect that the king really wanted peace, but that the Ashantis would fight us if we advanced.

Within a few minutes of receiving these letters, Sir Garnet had despatched the following answer to the king :—

“ 12.10 P.M. 3/2/74.

On the march.

“ KING,—You have deceived me so before, that I cannot halt until the hostages are in my possession. If you send them to me this evening, I will halt my army this side of the river Ordah.

“ As time presses, I will consent to accept for to-day your mother and Prince Mensah. Both shall be well treated by me. You can trust my word.

“ Unless you send them at once, my army shall march upon Coomassie.

(Signed) “ G. J. WOLSELEY,  
“ *Major-General.*”

The advanced-guard reached the river Ordah at 2.10 P.M., and the headquarters at 3.0 P.M. The stream was about fifty feet wide, and waist-deep. Russell's Regiment was at once passed across the stream as a covering-party to the Engineers, who were ordered to throw a bridge. They rapidly made a small intrenchment, and a considerable clearing on the north bank, when the whole advanced-guard was passed over. Russell's Regiment was reported by Colonel M'Leod as “ having been in front the whole day, and behaved with remarkable steadiness under trying circumstances, reserving their fire with remarkable self-control.”

A clearing was at once made on the south bank of the river Ordah for the force, and rough shelter-huts of palm-stems and plantain-leaves were soon thrown up

by most of the troops, who bivouacked in three sides of a square, of which the river formed the fourth side. After the arrival of the messengers in camp, the scouts had come upon one of the worst ambuscades of the day ; but the messengers as they retired had been heard shouting to the Ashantis to cease firing upon us, and the resistance to our progress had soon come to an end. That numbers of the enemy were still, however, hanging round our flanks in the bush, could not be doubted. Just as it grew dark, a prisoner was captured in the act of loading his gun close to our troops, and on being questioned at the headquarters, he declared that there were still 10,000 men on the south bank of the river, and that they only did not attack us because they had received the king's orders not to do so. It mattered to us little, however, whether they were 10,000 or 20,000, or where they were ; we were a self-containing force ; we had given up for the time being our communications with the rear, and such little baggage and supplies as we had with us were parked in the centre of the camp. The Ashantis, moreover, are not given to night attacks, which may be accounted for by the extreme difficulty, if not the impossibility, of moving through the bush in the dark. Another element of safety, too, was soon introduced, though it was one with which we would willingly have dispensed. Heavy thunder-clouds had been gathering all the afternoon ; the thunder had commenced to peal and the lightning to flash, when, just before dark, the rain came down in steady torrents, which poured all through the night with unceasing and relentless severity. It was bad for the flint-locks and priming of the enemy's guns, and rendered us perfectly safe against any chance of a night attack. But, on the

other hand, it was singularly unfortunate that on this first night on which the European troops had to bivouac without properly-prepared artificial shelter, they should be subjected to this severe trial against such rain as falls in one of these African tornadoes. The temporary shelter of a plantain-leaf hut is quite unavailing, and officers and men were all drenched, and passed a comfortless and almost sleepless night. Indeed, the storm had come on before some of the troops who arrived late had time to erect shelter of any kind.

The enemy was still keeping up desultory attacks upon our communications far in rear; the escort carrying our mail was fired at to the south of Ahkankuassie, and forced to return, but subsequently proceeded with a stronger escort.

By daybreak on the morning of the 4th the bridge over the Ordah was completed. Major Home, with the Royal Engineers under his command, had worked upon this through the tornado and drenching rain up to past one o'clock in the morning, and had then taken a couple of hours' rest, and recommenced the work; so that by daylight a good bridge, with hand-rails, had been constructed. Before daylight all the camp was astir, and officers and men were endeavouring to dry their soaked clothes by the camp-fires. Everything around was saturated with wet, and steaming, and many an attack of ague and dysentery dates from that night.

All hope had not been given up that the king would yet send the hostages demanded. The messengers, on leaving camp the previous day, had expressed themselves convinced that he would do so, and we could hardly believe that the Ashantis would again venture

to measure their strength with the troops which had so signally defeated them at Amoafu. But when night passed and the morning came, and no signs of the hostages were seen, we knew, with tolerable certainty, that we should again have to fight; for it had been ascertained from the prisoners taken by the advanced-guard during the night, that the enemy were in great force before us at the village of Ordahsu.

The advanced-guard marched in the following order: The Opobo company of Wood's Regiment, Colonel Wood, who had himself rejoined us on the previous day, in command; Russell's Regiment; one 7-pounder gun, Rait's Artillery; the Royal Engineers, under Lieutenant Bell; three companies of the Rifle Brigade, under Major Stephens. The remainder of the Rifle Brigade and Rait's Artillery followed under the Brigadier, while a detachment of the 23d Fusiliers and 42d Highlanders followed under the immediate orders of the Major-General; the Naval Brigade being ordered to wait until the baggage was across the river, and then to bring up the rear.

Almost immediately after our troops commenced to advance, the enemy opened fire upon the head of the column. The Opobos dropped flat in the road, and immediately commenced a wasteful ill-directed fire at the bush, which their officers had great difficulty in keeping under. Colonel M'Leod, finding that at every advance of a few paces the same operation was gone through, which would only give the enemy confidence, and teach him to despise our fire, besides greatly delaying the advance, passed a company of the Rifle Brigade to the front, and brought up the 7-pounder gun, under Lieutenant Saunders, at the



same time cutting a clearing into the bush on the left with the workmen of the Royal Engineer train.

The enemy now offered a most vigorous resistance, and Colonel M'Leod was reinforced at his request by three more companies of the Rifle Brigade. At eight o'clock Colonel M'Leod had asked for the reserves to be pressed on as rapidly as possible ; and at half-past eight, while the advanced-guard was pressing slowly on towards the village, the enemy very rapidly developed a strong and vigorous flank attack on the right against the troops under Sir Archibald Alison ; and from the cheering and beating of drums still further to the right rear, it was evident that a large force was detached in that direction, and that attacks might be expected on the flank almost to the river. At half-past eight the Brigadier reported : " The enemy are attacking our right heavily ; we are holding our ground easily. Colonel M'Leod is going to resume the advance ; but I think large numbers are circling round our right, as I hear the drums and cheering ; you will need therefore to keep an eye to that flank."

For the first half-mile from the river the path rose tolerably evenly ; then after a rapid ascent it passed along a narrow ridge, with a ravine on each side ; dipped again deeply, and then finally rose into the village. To the south-west of the village, extending almost to the village itself, and for a very considerable distance along the road, the enemy had made a clearing of several acres, by cutting down a plantain-grove. Colonel M'Leod steadily advanced along the main road under cover of Lieutenant Saunders' gun : after a few rounds fired from the gun up the road, the Rifles made a corresponding advance ; then the gun was

brought up again, and another advance was made ; and in this manner the village was at last reached and carried, a lodgment being effected there, and a space cleared all round. Considerable loss was inflicted upon the enemy, and we were not without suffering on our own side. Lieutenant Eyre, of the Opobo company, was mortally wounded, and Colonel M'Leod's orderly officer, Lieutenant Wauchope, received a severe wound on the shoulder. Seven of the gun detachment of eleven Houssas had been wounded. The gallantry with which these men behaved, and the cool quiet courage with which Lieutenant Saunders led them on, was indeed beyond all praise. At ten minutes past 9 Colonel M'Leod reported : " We are in the village ; black troops no use in front ; will not go into the bush for advance. I have put them all in the rear, and have the Rifles in the village. I will make a clearing there. Rifles made unsteady by Wood's men ; not many wounded."

While Colonel M'Leod was thus engaged in the front, and entering the village—the enemy not fighting in front with the same obstinacy that he had shown at Amoaful—the Brigadier, with the aid of the Engineer labourers, cleared the bush on each side of the pathway leading over the ridge, posted a section of the Rifle Brigade to cover his left, and a company along the edge of the ravine to the right, keeping in reserve one company and the detachment of the 23d Fusiliers. Russell's and Wood's regiments were placed on either side of the road in rear of the village, and now a tremendously heavy fire was opened by the enemy on both flanks.

At this time the enemy was holding all the bush in

front of the village, was attacking the village on both sides, and developing his flank attack some hundreds of yards down the road both on the right and on the left. Sir Archibald Alison reports: "The attack on the right rapidly developed itself, and my whole right flank and rear were soon enveloped; but the firing, though heavy, was not nearly so destructive as at Amoafu, and the enemy evidently could not be got to close with the same vigour which they had there displayed." At the same time a considerable attack was made upon the left. Meanwhile the road from the front to the rear was lined with troops, and the baggage and the Naval Brigade were not as yet across the river.

On receipt of Colonel M'Leod's report, dated ten minutes past 9, the Brigadier sent back the following message to the Major-General at 9.25: "Has the attack on your right rear ceased? Colonel M'Leod wished support, and I have sent him all the Rifles except two companies. If you are not attacked and can take my place here with the 42d, I will move on to the front. The attack on our right flank at present is feeble." The Major-General then ordered the 42d to pass on to the front, moving up with them himself, one company being left at a post where the road branches off to the right, a little north of the river Ordah, to hold that post till the Naval Brigade should arrive. There had been no attack made upon our right rear, though we had heard loud cheering and drumming; but from the winding nature of the path, which at one point was running nearly due east, and at another nearly due west, it was difficult to know where the actual front of the position was. The firing had at times seemed very close to the

path where the Major-General was with the 42d, and the bush was very dense. Suddenly, at one moment, the whole of the company nearest to us commenced to open a most violent fire into the bush on both sides of the road, and the detachment of police forming the Major-General's escort joined in the fire. For a moment the men had completely lost their heads. There was really nothing to fire at; but those who had commenced firing on the right side of the road, suddenly hearing fire open to the left also immediately behind them, and seeing nothing in the bush before them, turned round sharply, and some of them fired right across the road, to the imminent peril of the officers, who were standing up. One bullet passed close to the head of Captain Baker, the Inspector-General of Police, and it is a marvel that nobody was killed. In one minute, however, order was restored by the officers, and Major Scott took away the rifle from the man who had fired past Captain Baker's head, and sent him to the rear with an umbrella.

At 9.50, in consequence of a message from the Brigadier, the 42d marched into the clearing made by him, and he went to the front. At 10.10, the Brigadier reported from the village of Ordahsu: "I have joined Colonel M'Leod in this village. We have the whole of the Rifle Brigade, both of Rait's guns, and the 23d Fusiliers. The enemy do not seem to be in any strength in our front, and we are quite ready to go on. The native troops have been left behind by Colonel M'Leod to guard communications. A prisoner says that the king is present in person. Shall I move on? If so, the 42d should relieve us here, the Naval Brigade taking the position of the 42d." Orders were given to

the Brigadier to go on ; but before the 42d arrived, a vigorous counter-attack had been made by the enemy. The village was attacked at once in front and on both flanks, and was soon enveloped even in its right rear ; so that the whole of the Rifle Brigade and the 23d detachment had to be thrown into the bush to check this advance. " Without closing," reports the Brigadier, " as closely as at Amoaful, the Ashantis persisted strenuously in this attack." At eleven o'clock the Brigadier reported : " Enemy seems to be collected in force in our front. I purpose to attack them at once with the Rifle Brigade, guns, and 23d ; but I must be supported by the 42d closely, as I want to break them this time without fail. It is no use in sending Wood's and Russell's regiments to the front—the men won't go ; but they can garrison this village, and keep up the communication with me."

Now the Major-General's plan was this : to keep the road from the river to the village lined with troops until all the baggage could be passed up to the village, there to be parked ; and then, disregarding all attacks upon the flank and rear, to let the enemy close round his rear if they would, leave a strong guard with the baggage at Ordahsu, and push straight along the main road to Coomassie.

At five minutes past 11 the Brigadier wrote : " Please send me up the 42d at once, as I wish to head the attack with them. The Rifles are tired, and not steady enough for a decisive effort ; lose no time, as I want to get on at once." This was received by the Major-General, who was then a little in rear of the village, at a quarter past 11. The 42d were at once passed on to the front, and the headquarters entered the village with their rear.

A halt was, however, now ordered, in order that the baggage might be brought up to the village, and dispositions made for its defence, before the final effort was made. It was evident that it would be almost impossible to withdraw the Rifle Brigade from the bush, as the enemy was attacking the village all round. The whole circle round the village, cut only where the main road passed to the rear and was guarded by our troops, was for the next hour one sheet of flame, and one roar of fire. The enemy at times pressed boldly up to attack, especially on the left and left rear of the village, cheering and shouting before they advanced. On one occasion they came up in as close line as they could form in the bush, and fired a regular volley; but of course every time that they were seen like this, the troops mowed them down with the Sniders. So close did they come up in this action, that Colonel Greaves fired into the thick of them with his revolver, and the Major-General's orderly and police escort caught the infection, and let drive into them. Their slugs rained into the village, and the Major-General was struck with great force on the helmet, fortunately at a part where the leather band afforded such a protection as to prevent penetration.

About noon the order was given, and the dispositions were made. The 42d, under cover of Rait's Artillery, was to lead the attack, and to break right through the centre of the enemy's front, and push straight on to Coomassie, disregarding all flank attack, while the Rifle Brigade was to follow as soon as the cessation of the flank attacks on the village would permit them to do so. The troops forming Colonel M'Leod's advanced-guard were now all otherwise engaged; Russell's and Wood's regiments were protecting

the rear of the village, the companies of the Rifle Brigade were lining the bush round the village, and even Lieutenant Saunders's gun had been relieved in consequence of the heavy loss suffered by its detachment in its rapid movements to the front of the infantry, to clear the road for the Rifle Brigade on the march to Ordahsu. Lieutenant Palmer's gun was now sent to the front; and all Colonel M'Leod's original advanced-guard being thus occupied in rear, he took command of his own regiment, the 42d Highlanders, which was called on to strike the decisive blow—Sir Archibald Alison intrusting to him the management of the attack.

The bush on both sides of the road in front of the village was filled with the enemy; and at a point scarcely one hundred yards from the village, an immense fallen tree, lying almost across and beside the road, formed an ambuscade behind which a body of the enemy swept the path with their fire. While Major Rait brought Lieutenant Palmer's gun into action, and fired case at this ambuscade, Colonel M'Leod extended A company of the 42d into the bush on both sides of the road, supported it by B company under Lieutenant Brophy, and placed Captain Kidston's company in the road heading the regiment. Colonel M'Leod's modest report says: "I advanced rapidly fifty paces at a time, passing the skirmishing companies through each other at intervals of fifty paces. The enemy met us persistently, and at first men fell hit severely with slugs; but pressing steadily on his flank with my skirmishers, and storming his ambuscades on the road with Captain Kidston's company, he gave way before us, and retreated, giving us occasional

shots at vantage-places previously prepared ; but we held steadily on our course, carrying village after village, without any waste of ammunition."

What the course of events actually was could be better told by another than by Colonel M'Leod himself, and is graphically described by Sir Archibald Alison in his despatch. Speaking thus of Colonel M'Leod, after describing the disposition of the troops, Sir Archibald says : " Placing himself at their head, he gave the word to advance. I accompanied him with my staff. On first debouching from the village, a tremendous fire was opened on the head of the column from a well-planned and strong ambuscade, six men being knocked over in an instant. But the flank companies worked steadily through the bush ; the leading company in the path sprang forward with a cheer ; the pipes struck up, and the ambuscade was at once carried. Then followed one of the finest spectacles I have ever seen in war. Without stop or stay the 42d rushed on cheering, their pipes playing, their officers to the front ; ambuscade after ambuscade was successfully carried, village after village won in succession, till the whole Ashantis broke and fled in the wildest disorder down the pathway on their front to Coomassie. The ground was covered with traces of their flight. Umbrellas and war-chairs of their chiefs, drums, muskets, killed and wounded, covered the whole way, and the bush on each side was trampled as if a torrent had flowed through it. No pause took place until a village about four miles from Coomassie was reached, when the absolute exhaustion of the men rendered a short halt necessary. So swift and unbroken was the advance of the 42d, that neither Rait's guns nor the Rifle Brigade in support were ever brought into



action. Though the enemy stood well at the entrance of the village of Ordahsu, it was yet evident at the first that they had lost their former self-confidence, and that in the face of a determined attack vigorously pushed home, they would no longer stand as they did at Amoafu."

Meanwhile the attack upon the village was continued with the same vigour as before. The whole of the baggage being brought up and parked, our troops had been drawn in, and the enemy allowed to close with shouts and war-songs round our rear, Russell's Regiment being formed across the road in rear of the village. One loud sustained war-shout from the enemy told us of their rejoicing at seizing our communications, and cutting us off, as they believed, from our bridge and our camp, which by this time a body of them had entered, destroying the shelter-huts constructed on the previous night.

Until all was well assured in the front, the Major-General would make no forward movement from the village; but companies of the Rifle Brigade were placed in the bush along the road in front to keep it open. At 12.25 the Brigadier reported—"We are getting on capitally, and the men are going splendidly to the front. I would like to have the immediate support of half a battalion of the Rifle Brigade." At 1.10 he wrote—"We have won every village except Karsi, which I hope to take soon. Their army is flying in panic, chiefs' chairs and umbrellas are strewing the ground; if you will support me vigorously I will be in Coomassie to-night." This was received at 1.45, in the village of Ordahsu, just after a vigorous attack had been renewed by the enemy; and when it was communicated to our troops,

and translated to the natives, they raised such a ringing cheer that, almost, as by magic, the enemy's fire ceased, and not another shot was fired by him. He knew that that cheer could have but one meaning, lost heart, and gave up the game.

The writer is indebted to Lieutenant Hart of the 31st Regiment for the following interesting information and remarks : " You will observe close south-west of Ordahsu, that I have marked a clearing from which the Ashantis launched a formidable attack upon our left flank and rear, after we had carried the village. I may mention to you that, soon after the village was taken, I saw about 150 Ashantis file out of the bush skirting the village on the south-west side, and enter the clearing, which was several acres of stumps of plantain-trees, the remains of a grove which the Ashantis had evidently recently cut down. I had been watching this clearing, hoping that some of the enemy might retreat across it, and thereby come under a very effective fire from my company, which was halted in the road about 300 yards south of Ordahsu, and separated from the clearing by a fringe of five or six yards' width of bush, which the Ashantis had no doubt left standing to screen their position in the clearing from view. The Ashantis, as they entered the clearing, marched southwards in single rank parallel to the road, and 200 yards from it. Their arms were all sloped ; every man was closed up to what we call fronting distance ; their pace was quite regular, though much slower than our quick march, and, except for that, and the fact that they were all talking, they moved as do our best-drilled soldiers. This unexpected regularity made me doubt that they were Ashantis,—they seemed to me more

likely to be some of the natives of Wood's Regiment that had passed on to Ordahsu, and I called up one of my corporals and asked what he thought of them. He said they were the Bonny men. They were hidden up to the waist by the stumps of the plantain-trees, but their muskets looked very long and unlike Sniders. In another minute I had quite decided that they were not Bonny men, but Ashantis; when, just as I was turning to order my men to open fire, the Ashantis, who hitherto had looked neither to right nor left, caught sight of me. One after the other, their muskets came down to the 'ready,' and the corporal and I returned to our company, escaping the volley that was fired by stooping among the plantain-stems. My men and the rest of Russell's Regiment opened fire, and it was warmly returned. The Ashantis in the clearing must have been reinforced by large numbers, for their fire rapidly increased and extended on till it overlapped our left flank, and we then, as you know, drew in to Ordahsu and formed front there, facing to our rear and firing down the road we had just marched up; and in no degree did we diminish the Ashanti fire, which now extended quite across our rear, against which they were moving with shouts and war-songs, until the news was brought that Sir Garnet had routed the enemy in front, and was marching rapidly on Coomassie. This news, translated at once to Opobos, to Houssas, and others, raised such a shout of exultation, that the Ashanti fire ceased suddenly, as if they knew by this sign that we had won; and though those who could speak their language shouted out defiance, the Ashantis troubled us again no more.

"I mention this incident to call your attention to two things: 1st, that the Ashantis had prepared a large

clear space south-west of Ordahsu, with the design of collecting there a force sufficient to turn our left flank, cut our only road of communication, and keep possession of it, should we succeed in forcing their position at Ordahsu,—a design which, considering all the by-paths of the bush were in their possession, so that failure would not entail annihilation, nor their being severed from the main Ashanti army, you will perhaps consider could not have been changed for a better one by a European general. 2d, That the Ashantis, on the only occasion in action that I saw them *out of the bush* or narrow path, did not appear as a horde of savages, but moved as men do who are disciplined, under command, and well in hand.”

The Major-General now ordered an advance of the whole force, and we marched on to Coomassie.

At half-past 4, messengers were brought into headquarters under a flag of truce, bringing the following letter from Mr Dawson to Captain Buller :—

“ KUMASSI, *February 4, 1874.*

“ Captn. Buller.

“ SIR,—I find things have to crisis concerning the lives of us all here that I am bound to run to your honour to beg of you to plead with the Major-General for us all concerned.

“ Finding that my cane-bearer foolishly denied of the men, I mean the prisoners here, being put in irons ever since last Monday and remaining in them to this day, I beg to be believed that I would not dare to write nonsense to the Major-General or my master. Both he, the cane-man, and I, were taken out yesterday morning about three o'clock to write the letters which he brought, and I have been since left at liberty, but

every one else, except my cook, whom I have got released this morning, and two other servants, is in irons; and as soon as the Ashantis are driven very close to Kumassi we all shall be killed. My boy Robert comes now, and your honour will see the marks of the beating he has had. It is true the king was not at Kumassi, he had gone to see some great fetish of his, and his chief procurator and privy counsellor thought some bad fellows would hurt us, or some of us might through the excitement in the country commit suicide; but this ought to be without beating. As this chief could not find room for all in his house, he shared us to some of his captains under him; and it is only those who were kept in his house escaped the being beaten. May I beg to ask your honour to plead with the Major-General to defer his personal coming which frightens the people so much, and appoint an officer of rank, if he could not spare your honour, and then the Major-General might demand two or three of his (king's) principal captains, for instance, Essamuah Inkwanta, Busummurugwira, and Prince and Captain Berrenpa, instead of giving the mother and brother, royal lineage, which is against their superstitions to give for hostages. Then let him withdraw his forces and leave the path between entirely free for the time being, in the hands of the Major-General, so that his forces are allowed no chance of doing any mischief.

“Matters might be very well settled in this manner, and we may be saved, since the destruction of the whole blessed kingdom after we are killed would not bring us back.

“I know now the Ashantis will yield to all the terms of the Major-General for peace, except the send-

ing their royal lineage out of the kingdom, which is against their superstitious notions—so much so, that they would rather die or perish foolishly than doing it ; I would not care a button if they could do it without us.

“The Major-General might, after things being put straight in this manner, come for a day or two to see the king, and then march to the coast.

“The question about the money can be very soon arranged, if the Governor, with security, allow them to pay it instalmently. On my knees I pray your honour to do all you can for us in this my petition.

“As it regards Ashanti power now being broken is very evident ; they now beg me, which they have never done before, to do all I can to save them. The king himself sent his step-father to tell me that he now acknowledges the superiority of white men, and crave pardon that he may be allowed to treat for peace.

“I pray your honour, therefore, to do all you can to pacify the Major-General to halt at the river, that the prisoners may be sent at once and have everything settled, as the distance is only about three hours within Kumassi. May the Lord aid you in your endeavours is the prayer of your honour’s hum— and obedient servant,

“JOS. DAWSON.”

Comment upon this letter of Dawson’s would be superfluous ; it tells its own tale, and it need scarcely be added that the Major-General’s only reply was “push on.”

After the short halt he had ordered, Sir Archibald Alison directed the march on Coomassie to be resumed as soon as the men had recovered breath. The village of Karsi, the last before Coomassie, was passed without opposition, and the troopshad arrived within ten minutes’

march of Coomassie, when they were met by a flag of truce purporting to be from the king, and escorting a letter addressed to Sir Garnet Wolseley. The messenger, like every messenger who had ever arrived in our camp, was most anxious that the march of the troops should be arrested. The Brigadier forwarded the flag of truce and letter to Sir Garnet, and halted his troops for half an hour, sending to tell the king that he had received his flag of truce, and forwarded it to Sir Garnet. "But I have also told him," ran the Brigadier's report, "that I will advance in half an hour to the banks of the river, where I will halt without entering the town, until I receive your instructions, provided no resistance is made to me. If resistance is made I will force the town." The flag of truce was received by the Major-General at 5.20. It was not from the king, but from Dawson, and this was the miserable letter which accompanied it :—

"KUMASSI, 4th February 1874.

"His Excellency Major-General

Sir Garnet Jos. Wolseley.

"For heaven's sake, I pray your Excellency halt the forces for to-day and to-morrow. All the Ashanti forces are coming back home, and I think I will succeed in getting what I have written Captain Buller. If your Excellency do not halt and do not hear from me about twelve to-morrow noon, then all is over with me.

"I am your obedient and humble servant,

"JOS. DAWSON."

Immediately on the receipt of Dawson's letter and the Brigadier's despatch saying that he had halted the troops, which reached headquarters together at 5.20 p.m., the Major-General sent on orders to the Briga-

dier to advance immediately. But the half-hour had already elapsed before the message reached him, and he had advanced from the Soubang swamp about 5.15 and entered Coomassie without opposition about 5.30, advancing to the great market-place of the town. This halt had been rather unfortunate, as the extra half-hour of light would have been most valuable to us in Coomassie, enabling dispositions to be made for the quartering of the troops before darkness set in. The Major-General himself pushed on with the utmost rapidity, and arrived in the market-place about 6.15, finding the troops formed on parade, when at his command three cheers were given for her Majesty the Queen.

This entry into Coomassie is in its circumstances unrivalled in the annals of war. The town was full of armed men. The first wide open place reached immediately after crossing the swamp had houses on the right and left, in all of which armed men were seen, who ran away on the approach of our skirmishers, but returned again to watch the passage of the long column, disappearing into the bush if any attempt was made to disperse them. In the great main street hundreds of armed men were collected to observe the entry, yet not a single shot was fired. So strong, indeed, seemed their confidence in the white man, that they deliberately walked through the market-place, past the front of our troops, carrying their arms and ammunition away into the bush; and officers of rank were seen chasing and tripping men carrying kegs of powder on their heads, and rifles and ammunition-boxes in their hands. The main street commands both the town and the palace, and the Brigadier on arrival had placed the artillery so that it could sweep the streets ascending



to the market-place, and thrown out picquets. A party was at once sent down to the king's palace. Dawson, who was found at liberty in the street, expressed his ignorance of the way to the palace, and his inability to conduct there the staff officer who was sent to find it. The palace was reached, but the king was nowhere to be found : he, the queen-mother, Prince Mensah, and all other personages of distinction, had disappeared.

Thus Coomassie was taken, and the goal of our enterprise was reached ; the king had done his best, both by negotiations and the sterner policy of battle, to prevent our reaching his capital ; but his efforts had failed. His policy of deceit and fraud had recoiled, broken to pieces upon the straightforward truthful dealing of our commander ; and his troops had been scattered to the winds by the brave soldiers who had so well seconded the forethought, skill, and courage with which they had been directed by their general.

The king had in person been with his army ; not in the fore-front of the battle ; not seeking, like a brave man, to aid his troops by example, or staking his own life while others were staking theirs for him, but carried in his litter in rear, where no bullets came. But his presence showed the great effort that was made. "In Ashanti," said Prince Ansah, long before we went out, "the king never joins his army except on occasions when the full strength of the Ashanti power is to be put forth, and in pursuance of some solemn vow." And now, defeated, he takes refuge in flight, and, in his cowardly fear to come in, leaves his city and his people to be destroyed.

This battle, too, had not been without loss ; we had lost young Eyre, the adjutant of Wood's Regiment, as

manly and true a soldier as ever drew breath. The first day at Essaman had shown us all how strong he was to bear, how valiant he was to act. Always setting an example to his men of perfect apparent ignorance of the enemy's fire, he lost his life while thus facing the enemy without cover, at the very muzzles of their guns. Then and there we buried him, and the enemy's guns and our own joined in unison in firing the volleys over his grave.

But our casualties had been nothing like so heavy as in the battle of Amoaful, for the enemy had not, when vigorously attacked, stood before Coomassie as he had stood at Amoaful. One or two great efforts had been required to dislodge him ; but the bulk of his energies had been expended in fruitless flank-attacks upon our troops acting on the defensive ; and when once the first position north of Ordahsu had been carried, he made no further stand. But here again there had been ample opportunity for the display of individual courage. Private Adams of the 42d Highlanders had been conspicuous for his gallantry and devotion ; he was said to have been the first man throughout the sharp and decisive encounter with the enemy in the strong position north of Ordahsu, and to have led his company with a courage that called forth the warmest expressions of admiration from those who were present. Sergeant M'Gaw, Private Cameron, and Private Ritchie were recommended, as well as private Adams, for the Victoria Cross ; as was also Captain Kidston, who had led his company with dashing bravery, exposing himself in the most reckless way to the enemy's fire. Nor were Lieutenant M'Callum of the 79th Highlanders, or Lieutenant Brophy of the 42d, who commanded the two

skirmishing companies, less resolute ; and their names also were brought forward by Colonel M'Leod in the hope that the Victoria Cross might have been awarded them in recognition of their gallant services. Sergeant M'Gaw, however, is the only one of the 42d upon whom this decoration has been bestowed ; and it is deeply to be regretted that some peculiarity in the statute of the order has prevented the decoration being bestowed upon Private Adams.

Lieutenant and Adjutant Stephenson, Quartermaster Forbes, Corporal J. Sweeney, and Privates John Anderson, Archibald M'Laughlan, William Nichol, and George Grant, were all mentioned by the Brigadier as having particularly distinguished themselves.

The Brigadier, in his despatch about this action, also spoke highly of the "discipline and steadiness" of the Rifle Brigade, the way in which it had been led by Lieut.-Colonel Warren, and Majors Glyn and Stephens, and the admirable conduct of the company officers.

The numbers engaged on our side in this action were as follows :—

	Officers.	Men.	
		Europeans.	Natives.
Major-General and Headquarter Staff, . . . . .	7	0	0
Brigade Staff, . . . . .	4	0	0
Rait's Artillery, . . . . .	4	8	54
Royal Engineers, including officers attached, and native labourers, . . . . .	3	31	125
Naval Brigade, . . . . .	15	141	0
23d R. W. Fusiliers, . . . . .	5	70	0
42d Highlanders, . . . . .	24	384	0
Rifle Brigade, . . . . .	22	395	0
Control, including transport officers, . . . . .	7	3	0
Army Medical Department, . . . . .	15	0	0
Army Hospital Corps, . . . . .	0	12	0
Wood's Regiment, . . . . .	5	0	94
Russell's Regiment, . . . . .	7	0	176
	118	1044	449

The casualties were as under :—

Killed—Wood's Regiment, Lieutenant Eyre and one man.		
Wounded—	Officers.	Men.
Headquarter Staff, . . . . .	1	0
23d Regiment, . . . . .	0	1
42d Regiment, . . . . .	3	14
Rifle Brigade, . . . . .	0	17
Rait's Artillery . . . . .	0	12
Wood's Regiment, . . . . .	0	10
Russell's Regiment . . . . .	1	2
<hr/>		
Total wounded—Army,	5	56
Naval Brigade,	1	4
<hr/>		
	6	60

It was a quarter past 6, and already dusk, when the troops received the Major-General on parade. They were not delayed for a minute, but steps were immediately taken to house them. Strong outlying picquets were placed at all the main inlets to the town, and one great inlying picquet in the market-place. The regiments were ordered to take precautions for their own protection in their billets. The Major-General, always careless of his own comfort, chose for his own quarter one of the "dampans" or raised open recesses looking on to the market-place, the roof of which had given way at the top, leaving it open to the sky.

Of course the main question now occupying the Major-General's mind was to conclude a peace with the king, and if possible to obtain from him a treaty. His palace was left unmolested, only a guard being placed upon it. Dawson was asked if he could find messengers who would take a message to the king, wherever he might be, as he vowed that he himself had no idea where the king had gone to, and that he could

not find out ; he had little doubt, however, but that he could find messengers who would carry a letter to the king ; and about 8 o'clock he brought to the Major-General's quarter Owoosoo Koko and another Ashanti, who promised that they would deliver any letter or message to the king, though of course refusing to say where his majesty had gone. The following letter was addressed by Sir Garnet to the king :—

“ COOMASSIE, *February 4, 1874.*

“ KING,—You have deceived me, but I have kept my promise to you.

“ I am in Coomassie, and my only wish is to make a lasting peace with you. I have shown you the power of England, and now I will be merciful.

“ As you do not wish to give up your mother and Prince Mensa, send me some other hostages of rank, and I will make peace with you to-morrow on the terms originally agreed upon.

“ If either your majesty, or your royal mother, or Prince Mensa, will come to see me to-morrow morning early, I will treat you with all the honour due to your royal dignity, and allow you to return in safety. You can trust my word.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) “ G. J. WOLSELEY,  
Major-General and Administrator, Gold Coast.

“ To His Majesty Koffee Kalkalli, King of Ashanti,  
Coomassie.”

The writer was commissioned to deliver this letter to the messengers, and at the same time to explain to them what were Sir Garnet's views ; and it was impressed upon them that his Excellency had still only one wish—to make a lasting peace with the king ; that he

had no desire to break up his Majesty's kingdom, or to injure his position in the eyes of his people ; that he had shown him how utterly impossible it was for him to resist the power of England, and had proved by coming to Coomassie that the white man always keeps his word. He now wished to make friends with the king, and urged upon him to come in person and treat with him. In order that he might do so, his palace was left untouched, and a guard was to be placed upon it in order to preserve unharmed everything that his Majesty had left. If the king himself would not come to see the Major-General, his Excellency would treat with his royal mother, or with Prince Mensa, the heir to the crown, but with no lesser personage. His Excellency promised that the king or either of these royal personages should be considered free, and treated with all respect due to their rank and dignity ; and he would accept lesser chiefs as hostages for the payment of the indemnity which it was his duty to demand. If the king would thus come and treat, Coomassie should be left untouched, and the troops should leave it as they found it. At the same time, Owoosoo Koko was warned that every precaution had been taken against treachery ; and that if in the night, or during our stay at Coomassie, one single shot was fired against our troops, Coomassie should be destroyed, and every living person in it unhesitatingly put to death. Dawson, it should be added, had warned us against the probability of a night attack, though the Major-General did not for one moment anticipate such an attack being made.

It is a curious coincidence, that before the writer commenced to speak to these messengers, a small bullock was brought up to him, and offered to him for

Sir Garnet Wolseley, as a present from the captain of the king's body-guard. The lesson of Theodore's bullocks in Abyssinia, and the bitter criticisms which had been passed upon Lord Napier's conduct in attacking Magdala after their supposed acceptance by him, had not been thrown away; and the answer was at once given, "that his Excellency could not accept any present from his enemies, and that the king and his chiefs continued to be his enemies until peace should be made."

The messengers, to whom the contents of the letter had been interpreted by Dawson, in the presence of Captain Buller's interpreter, Mr Vroom, departed with the letter, promising to seek and find the king; and having drunk the Queen's health in champagne, which we had carried all the way to Coomassie for this special purpose, the Major-General and his staff lay down crowded together in the "dampan" to seek such rest as might be found. But there was little rest that night for any one in Coomassie. In the first place, the excitement of the day rendered us but little inclined for sleep; in the next place, we were sleeping or trying to sleep near the southern end of the town, and were sickened and nauseated by the loathsome smell of putrifying human bodies that pervaded this quarter, and which the fires in front of our place of shelter altogether failed to keep away. But even more sleep-repelling was the fact, that at an early hour of the night, fires—evidently the work of incendiaries—sprang up all over the town, and through the night the troops were engaged in putting them out. One lurid blaze after another sprang up in various quarters, followed by explosions of the powder stored in nearly

every house. How Major Home and his Engineers worked that night in pulling down houses to stop the spread of the fires, after their sleepless and toilsome night on the Ordah river, deserves to be mentioned. Of course, these fires caused great anxiety, but we had little doubt that they were the work of incendiaries, and that those incendiaries were pillagers; who the pillagers were we did not at the time know. The Major-General had issued a proclamation, saying that he would punish with death any one caught plundering, and this was proclaimed throughout the town; while, at the same time, an Ashanti crier went round and proclaimed, in the name of the king, that no one was to attack or molest our troops. The police patrolled the town all night, and every effort was made to check plunder. One of our own Fanti police caught pillaging was hanged, and several of the camp-followers were flogged. We afterwards learned that the robbing and burning of the houses were due to the Fanti prisoners whom we had ourselves released from log, having been led by Dawson to the place where they were confined. So much for Fanti gratitude. Of course the Major-General could not but be aware that this apparent destruction of Coomassie harmonised but ill with the protection which he had promised it to the king, and that it would tend to prevent the king from coming in, or sending his mother or his nephew.

At last, after a weary night, the morning of the 5th dawned, and at an early hour the Major-General published the following order to the troops:—



## "SPECIAL GENERAL ORDER.

"COOMASSIE, 5th February 1874.

"Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines of this expeditionary force,—After five days' very hard fighting under trying conditions, your courage and devotion have been rewarded with complete success. I thank you, in her Majesty's name, for your gallantry and good conduct throughout these operations.

"In the first phase of this war, the Ashanti army was driven back from the Fanti country into its own territory. Since then you have penetrated far through a dense forest, defended at many points with the greatest obstinacy. You have repeatedly defeated a very numerous and most courageous enemy fighting on his own ground in well selected positions. British pluck, and the discipline common to her Majesty's land and sea forces, have enabled you thus to overcome all difficulties and to seize upon the enemy's capital, which is now at our mercy.

"All the people, both European and native, unjustly held captive by the King of Ashanti, are now at liberty in our camps; and you have proved to this cruel and barbarous people that England is able to punish her enemies, no matter what their strength either in numbers or position.

"Maintain, on your return march to the Coast, the same admirable conduct that you have hitherto evinced; and England may be as justly proud of having such soldiers, sailors, and marines as I am of having had the honour of commanding you throughout this campaign."

Shortly after issuing this order, the Major-General visited the palace, Dawson conducting us there. Descending the hill past the great fetish tree, which had blown down and shivered to pieces on the very day that Sir Garnet's summons to the king had left Prahsu, past some other huge trees, whose gnarled roots spread across the road, passing on the left some large chiefs' houses, and on the right the house of the king's mother, we reached the high wooden paling which bounds the enclosure of the palace, and entered by a gate nearly opposite to a large enclosure on the opposite side of the road, where the bodies of dead kings and princes are buried for a year before being removed to the royal mausoleum at Bantama ; and by the side of which enclosure is the mound on which human sacrifices are made on the occasions of great customs.

Entering by the gate in the paling, we found ourselves in the enclosure of the palace—a very large irregular pile of building, partly formed of thick walls of masonry, enclosing rooms two stories high, and partly of great open courts similar to those already described at Fommanah, only on a far larger scale, with the same raised rooms open to the court, and the same high pitched roofs. There are several entrances to the palace ; but we passed in, not by the porch on the south side, but by a large door on the west side of the palace, leading by a long passage, past some small courts to the right and left, which were apparently full of Ashantis, to the large court where the king holds receptions. In one part of the passage or series of courts through which we passed was a raised covered recess, looking like an altar, which Dawson edged away from, telling us that it was the great fetish place.

The great court would have held 200 men. The supporting pillars of the roofs of all the recesses were highly ornamented with scroll-work in glazed red clay, and the floor of the recess at the southern end, in which the king sits to receive embassies, and where probably the interview reported by Plange in the first chapter of this book had occurred, had the floor ornamented with various devices in white paint. At the foot of the steps leading up to this recess was a little wicker semi-circular fence, enclosing a tortoise, and some rubbish of different sorts, which we were told was great fetish. In another court was a splendid bird, apparently quite tame—a bird of many gorgeous colours, and most beautifully crested; this, too, was fetish. We also saw some of the king's cats, of which he has many, and with which the missionaries had told us he was very fond of playing. In one place we found a quantity of enormous umbrellas of various materials, amongst them the State umbrella sent home to her Majesty, and in the same court numerous litters covered with silks and velvets or the skins of animals, in which the king was wont to be carried. In rooms up-stairs were stored heaps of boxes, which appeared to contain articles of value, and silks, and many other treasures in profusion; all showed the signs of a hasty flight; and yet it was wonderful these things had not been carried away in the night.

Other things we saw of a different nature, which brought vividly before us the horrors of which this place had been a witness. There was the great death-drum surrounded with human skulls and thigh-bones—the great drum on which three peculiar beats are given whenever a human victim is slaughtered as an offering

to fetish. There were stools—the concave wooden stools common in the country—covered with clotted blood standing out from them in huge thick lumps, the blood of hundreds of human victims, in which they had been bathed as an offering to the memories of the king's ancestors, to whom they had belonged. Loathsome they were to see, as the flies rose in dense clouds from them at our approach.

We entered the king's bedchamber, closed by a heavy door, on which were many stamped plaques of gold and silver; and we saw his Majesty's gorgeous four-post bed covered with silk, and on a stand beside it a large brass bowl filled with a compound of foul-smelling materials—the preparation of the fetish priests. But Sir Garnet Wolseley would not remain long in the palace where every association was horrible to the thought. Only, he had remained long enough to see that it would be well to protect it with a European guard, and that the guard must be a large one.

A hundred of the Rifle Brigade had already been ordered down, and the writer was left to see that the sentries were so posted as to prevent all ingress to, and egress from, the palace. Captain Carey accompanied the writer round the entire enclosure of the palace, and we endeavoured to post sentries, so that it should be impossible to enter it or leave it without being observed. The task was a most difficult one. On the north side there were but two entrances into the palace; on the west side but one; the eastern side also we easily protected by two sentries; but on the southern side, the palace itself in many places merged into one irregularly built cluster of houses, which we learnt belonged to the king's wives. Some idea of the size of the

building, and of its irregularity, may be gained from the fact that we posted 13 sentries in such positions that they were only just able to protect all the inlets to the building. After having apparently been all round the building once, we again marched round to see whether a sentry could not be economised; and though in one place we were enabled to remove one, we found that the whole of a long gallery, evidently the women's quarters, had been omitted, and we had to place another at the entrance of this. The guard of 100 men was placed in the great central court, and 1000 men might easily have been quartered in the main building.

In the mean time the Major-General had again received messages professing to come from the king, to the effect that his Majesty would come in in the course of the morning, and then that he would come later in the day. More messengers were sent, who professed that they would go to the king, urging him to come in, and saying that his palace was still at his disposal. But the king came not; the persons who professed to be his messengers, notably Owoosoo Koko and Boosumra Intakura, were found collecting arms and ammunition and endeavouring to pass them out of the town, and were arrested. The policy of fraud and of deception which the king had hitherto displayed was again being attempted, and it was now scarcely to be hoped that the king would be wise enough to take the one last step in his power to save his capital by coming in, or sending his mother or his nephew to make peace.

The morning had been dull and heavy, and in the afternoon a succession of furious tornadoes swept over

the town, brushing away such tents as were pitched, and converting the market-place into a pool of water.

In the early morning, all wounded who were unable to march were sent off under escort of Wood's and Russell's Regiments and a company of the Rifle Brigade, and at eleven o'clock Major Russell reported from the Ordah river that the bridge was about 18 inches under water in places; and there was some difficulty experienced in passing the convoy over the river. That night they halted on the bank of the Ordah, and on the following morning marched to Amoaful.

This report as to the state of the Ordah river naturally caused some little anxiety. A succession of tornadoes had seemingly set in; there seemed no apparent probability of their ceasing for some time; and the natives assured us that this was the prelude to the rainy season, evidently about to begin earlier than usual. The afternoon had passed, and the king had not fulfilled the promise said to have been made by him that he would come in; and there was now no probability of his doing so. His actual present position could not be ascertained; and even if we had found out where he was, it would have been impossible to capture him, as every village is surrounded with bush, and nothing would be easier than to escape. To chase the king from one place to another was absolutely out of the question; it would but have been to add failure to what had hitherto been unbroken success; and whatever was to be done must now be accomplished without taking into consideration the possibility even of a meeting with his Majesty or his relations. In reply to all the invitations to act like a sensible man and make peace, the king, or those representing him, had

only sent deceiving messages ; and now the problem was, should the Major-General remain another day at Coomassie, and take advantage of it to march to Bantama, the royal mausoleum, or should he at once destroy Coomassie, and retire ?

If the climate had been good, the weather fine, and the troops in perfect health, there is little doubt that the Major-General would have remained and sent a reconnaissance to Bantama, as there were enough provisions for one or two days' longer halt at Coomassie. But the conditions were exactly the reverse of this ; the climate, always bad, had become horrible in these drenching tornadoes, and the European troops, already reduced by wounds and sickness to less than a thousand strong, were suffering in health. Could any advance to Bantama weigh under these conditions against the advantage of getting the troops away twenty-four hours earlier ? What was to be gained by a visit to Bantama ? Much, so far as the gratification of an idle curiosity was concerned ; possibly something in the way of plunder ; and therefore if we did not go there, criticism was to be expected from those whose duty it was to gratify the public at home by the description of the marvels of the royal mausoleum. But the destruction of a burial-place and the rifling of the tombs of the dead, even though those dead be but the savage ancestors of a barbarous king, are acts which do not appeal to the instincts of a true soldier. And, unless it were to destroy the king's mausoleum, and to rifle the graves of the gold said to be buried there, nothing was to be gained by a visit to Bantama ; for in no other way could the mark of our visit be shown. It was not, however, necessary for the

Major-General to decide whether he would commit this act of vandalism for the sake of the effect which it might produce in the mind of King Koffee. The matter was practically decided for him by Russell's morning report of the rapid rising in the river, followed by the incessant storms which raged through the afternoon and evening, and which had already caused the Soubang swamp to rise to a considerably higher level. Were these tornadoes to continue, and the rains to set in, our return from Coomassie must be a matter of the greatest difficulty; and every 24 hours gained would be a great advantage. Placing the health and welfare of the troops, for whose lives and health he was responsible, above all other considerations, the Major-General decided on destroying the town and the palace of Coomassie, and returning at daybreak the next morning along the way by which he had come.

There was another powerful reason also moving the mind of the Major-General. It was out of the question to undertake any operation which might involve another battle; because any increment to our list of sick and wounded would have placed it beyond his power to remove them back to Agemmamu, as there would neither have been hammocks nor bearers sufficient for the purpose. A report was therefore circulated in the course of the afternoon, that the king having played the Governor false, and not having come in to make a treaty of peace, the army would advance in pursuit of him; and it was given out that all Ashantis found in the town after six o'clock the next morning would be shot. The orders for march placed the 42d in advance, and the Naval Brigade in rear, so that when the columns faced about to march home-



wards, the Naval Brigade would lead, and the 42d form the rear-guard. Prize agents were appointed, Captain Buller from the Staff, Captain Dugdale, R.B., from the European Brigade, and Lieutenant Maclean from the Naval Brigade, with permission to collect what they could from the palace, the number of carriers at their disposal for the removal of the goods being limited to 30, and with the knowledge that all their work must be finished by daybreak the next morning. Orders were at the same time given to the commanding Royal Engineer that he was to make his arrangements during the night for destroying the palace on the following morning, and setting the whole town on fire.

As night set in, the rain again came down with merciless force, and peals of thunder shook the very earth. As soon as possible after dark, the prize agents proceeded to the palace to collect what they could of value ; and the writer was allowed to accompany them. That night is one to be remembered with interest. The prize agents, and one or two other European officers, assisted by Andooa, chief of Elmina, and Vroom, Captain Buller's interpreter, worked with most ardent energy in despoiling King Koffee of his property. Candles were scarce at Coomassie ; and only four were available for the search, of which economy forbade that more than two should be alight at a time. By the light of these two candles the search began. The first room visited was one which during the day had been seen to be full of boxes, some of which, at all events, contained articles of much value. Here were found those gold masks, whose object it is so difficult to divine, made of pure gold hammered into shape. One of these, weighing more than forty-one ounces, repre-

sented a ram's head, and the others the faces of savage men, about half the size of life. Box after box was opened and its contents hastily examined, the more valuable ones being kept, and the others left. Necklaces and bracelets of gold, Aggery beads, and coral ornaments of various descriptions, were heaped together in boxes and calabashes. Silver-plate was carried off, and doubtless much left behind. Swords, gorgeous ammunition-belts, caps mounted in solid gold, knives set in gold and silver, bags of gold-dust and nuggets; carved stools mounted in silver, calabashes worked in silver and in gold, silks embroidered and woven, were all passed in review. The sword presented by her Majesty to the king was found and carried off; and thousands of things were left behind that would be worth fabulous sums in cabinets at home. But the description of these belongs to the more facile pens of other writers.

Captain Buller and the other prize agents worked on through the night, while the writer, seized with a sharp attack of fever, was helped back through the drenching rain to our quarters in the market-place. The spectacle that presented itself there was not reassuring. Through the broken roof of our hut the rain was pouring down in volumes; and Sir Garnet and the rest of the staff, covered as best they might by waterproof sheets, were lying in pools of water. There was but little sleep to be got again that night, and we hailed the dawn with unspeakable satisfaction.

Meanwhile, through the night, while the prize agents had been at work in the palace, the Royal Engineers under Lieutenant Bell and Major Home had also been at work there, and were still working on.

By about 6 o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the troops were formed up in the market-place, and soon afterwards commenced to march off. The rain fortunately had ceased ; but the great rise in the Soubang swamp showed something of what was to be expected at the streams and rivers in rear. Headed by the Naval Brigade, the column moved away slowly, the 42d being left as a rear-guard, its rear company remaining at the south end of the market-place, where the road to the palace branches off. The writer was left to give the order for the removal of the guard from the palace, and for blowing it up when the guard was removed. The preparation of the mines took longer than had been expected ; and the rear of the main body had moved off from Coomassie a full hour before they were ready.

Before we leave Coomassie, while we are waiting for the Engineers, let us take one look into this huge patch of high reeds, beside which the rear-guard is halted, and over which, on the tall trees, sit motionless large evil-looking birds. This is known in the native language as "Apetisini," or "the place of the vultures." We pass in by a path through the reeds, striving to keep down the sickness that is stealing over us, as the well-known smell of decaying flesh grows stronger on our senses. And now the path opens, and we try to take in the details of the hideous scene. A large open space, an acre or more in size — we scarcely can judge calmly ; a dried-up pond, it might be, for there are signs as of a hollow now filled up. Filled up, oh God ! with what ? Grinning skulls and fleshless bones below ; and above, bones not yet fleshless, skulls not yet deprived of their covering ; and nearest of all, the bodies

—we cannot say how many, seven we count, and the nearest a woman—bloated, swollen, discoloured, loathsome, and the whole mass living, writhing, with the worms that feast in corruption. Turn away—drive off these savage hogs whose hideous errand here we only guess too well ! Come out from this valley of death—this pit of sacrifice !

Never a day passes but that foul grave demands fresh victims ; never a night that this king, with whom we are trying to make peace, does not offer fresh human sacrifices to the foul fetish, and glut his taste for blood. With that sight in our eyes, we leave the city of death—the place of skulls.

At a quarter-past 8 o'clock, Lieutenant Bell reported that all was ready at the palace. Then the guard of the Rifle Brigade was marched off, with orders to rejoin its regiment, and the order was given for the palace to be blown up. Major Home himself personally superintended the lighting of the fuses, and the detachment of Sappers quitted the palace.

While these preparations were going on in the palace, Engineer labourers under Lieutenant Hare had set the town on fire. Commencing by applying their torches at the north edge of the town, they had worked down to the south. The town burnt furiously, all these three days of rain failing in any way to impede the progress of the devouring element. The thick thatched roofs of the houses, dry as tinder except just on the outside, blazed as though they had been ready prepared for the bonfire, and the flames ran down the framework which supported the mud walls. In the larger houses, more substantially built, only the roofs caught fire ; but the destruction was practically complete. Slowly

huge dense columns of smoke curled up to the sky, and the lighted fragments of thatch drifting far and wide upon the wind showed to the King of Ashanti, and to all his subjects who had fled from the capital, that the white man never failed to keep his word.

At nine o'clock the firing party had reached the point where the rear-guard was stationed, and Major Home arrived with his Sappers from the palace, reporting that his work there was completed, that two of his eight mines had already exploded, and that the fuses of the remainder were lit. No sounds of explosion had been heard, the mines being so arranged that the thick masonry of the palace walls would be shaken throughout by their discharge, and would totter with the shock and fall.

Anxiety was exhibited by some of those remaining with the rear-guard at the great delay in the firing of the mines at the palace, and the distance which in consequence existed between the main body and the 42d, which was to follow; but no such anxiety was shown by Colonel M'Leod. The same quiet demeanour was shown here as under the enemy's hottest fire; and he remained behind the rear company, till the party of Sappers and the last Engineer labourer had passed to the front.

At nine o'clock he rose and waved his hand; it was the signal for the rear company to march, and Coomassie was left a heap of smoking ruins.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE HOMEWARD MARCH—DEMANDS OF THE KING FOR PEACE—PAYMENT OF INSTALMENT OF INDEMNITY—CONCLUSION OF THE MISSIONS OF CAPTAINS GLOVER, BUTLER, AND DALRYMPLE—THEIR VALUE AS EFFECTING DIVERSIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE MAIN COLUMN—APPLICATION BY THE KING OF ADANSI TO MIGRATE INTO THE PROTECTORATE—DISBANDING OF NATIVE TROOPS, AND RE-EMBARKATION OF EUROPEANS—ARRANGEMENTS FOR FUTURE GOVERNMENT MADE BY THE MAJOR-GENERAL.

THE commencement of the homeward march was not without its difficulties. The heavy rains of the preceding days had had their effect, and one stream, which when we had passed it on our march to Coomassie was scarcely three feet deep, flowing between rather steep banks, had now apparently disappeared, and in its place was a sheet of water 200 yards wide, somewhere in the middle of which the stream must be. It was an awkward task to pass troops over, but by means of a felled tree they crossed the deepest and most difficult part. The river Ordah, too, though it had not risen to the same extent as the narrower stream, had overflowed our bridge nearly two feet, and the water was still rising. Fortunately the Ashantis had not destroyed the bridge, although they had entered our old camp on the left bank, and the bridge had been so well made that it had withstood all the efforts of the stream. The carriers were made

to go through the water with their bundles on their heads, while most of the white troops were passed over the bridge ; but it was night before the last companies crossed. The sailors had given invaluable aid in strengthening and securing the bridge, and Colonel Greaves and Captain Buller had worked with indefatigable energy in passing the men over the swollen streams and river. However, the bridge gave way before evening, and the 42d Highlanders had to strip, and wade or swim the river, their clothes being taken over by natives. Still the whole column, with its convoys, was passed across the Ordah that night, and the Major-General, with the headquarters, reached Agemmamu. There we found that a perfect fortress had been constructed by Captain Cope, which would have defied the attacks of an army. In the execution of his duty he had spared no person and no thing ; and we shall not soon forget the despairing face of one non-combatant officer, who with tears in his eyes complained that his baggage had been built into the fortification, and that he was told he could not have it out.

The Major-General halted at Agemmamu throughout the 7th, with the Rifle Brigade, the 42d Highlanders, and Rait's Artillery. The Naval Brigade, the small-arm reserve ammunition column, and the 23d Fusiliers, marched to Amoaful, with orders to continue their march to Cape Coast, picking up and taking on the detachment of the 23d, which had come up from the Coast. They reached Cape Coast on the 20th, and at once re-embarked. On the 7th, the Major-General completed his despatches up to that date, and they were sent to England in charge of Lieutenant the Hon. H.

Wood, A.D.C. ; who also conveyed, as a present from the troops to her Majesty the Queen, the state umbrella of the King of Ashanti, and to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales a carved stool, taken from the palace at Coomassie.

The Major-General's despatch from Coomassie is given entire in the Appendix. His despatch now written from Agemmamu ended thus :—"In the dispatch which I addressed to you on the 13th October last, asking for English troops to be sent out to enable me to accomplish my mission, I stated that that mission, to insure a lasting peace with the Ashanti kingdom, could only be fulfilled in one way—by defeating the Ashanti army, by pursuing it, if necessary, to the capital of the Ashanti kingdom, and by so showing to the king and all those chiefs who urge him on to war, that the arm of her Majesty is powerful to punish her enemies, even in the very heart of their own country. That mission, I conceive, I have now fulfilled by the aid of the troops which her Majesty's Government confided to me for its accomplishment. Yet I can truly state that no means were left untried by me to bring about a peaceable solution of the campaign. Up to the last hour I left the king's palace untouched, in hopes that he would return to make peace. The troops refrained, with the most admirable self-control, from spoliation or plunder ; and they have left the capital of this kingdom, so famed for its gold, without carrying away as plunder one article of value."

Russell's Regiment marched to Insarfu on the 7th, leaving one company at Amoafu, which was taken on for the purposes of night duty and picquets by the Naval Brigade and 23d. Wood's Regiment marched to



Ahkankuassie. On the 8th Russell's Regiment reached Fommanah, and the headquarters, with the main body, Amoaful. The redoubt at Agemmamu was levelled, and all the stores carried back to Amoaful. We found at Amoaful that Colonel Webber had razed the whole town to the ground, leaving no vestige of a house.

On the 9th the troops marched to Ahkankuassi, clearing out on the road Egginassie, Quarman, and Insarfu; and the headquarters, with an escort of West Indian troops, marched to Detchiasu. Great difficulty was experienced in finding carriage for the sick and wounded. No less than 70 were collected at Insarfu, and 45 at Ahkankuassi. Those at Insarfu were sent to Fommanah, with orders for the hammocks to return, and they were all ultimately removed to Fommanah, the rear-guard under Colonel M'Leod halting at Insarfu till the block was cleared. Wood's Regiment was ordered to halt with two companies at Moinsey, and one on the crest of the Adansi hills. On the 10th, the headquarters marched to Fommanah. Great difficulty was experienced in clearing out Ahkankuassie, but during the day all the sick were evacuated and brought to Fommanah. At the last moment, however, the Control required 590 carriers to bring away supplies, and thus the post could not be evacuated that day. Captain Player was accordingly left in command with a company of Annamaboes, and Lieutenant Grant, 6th Regiment, with 50 men, at Kiang Boassu, in support. The 42d and Rifle Brigade marched to Quisah, and thence continued their journey to Cape Coast, the Rifle Brigade arriving and embarking on the 21st, the 42d halting at Inquabim until the arrival of the Sarmatian, when they also embarked. The Major-

General remained halted at Fommanah with the native troops. The Commodore, the Deputy-Controller, who was again very ill, and the Assistant Adjutant-General, took their departure for Cape Coast.

The cause of the Major-General's halt at Fommānah was two-fold. In the first place, he wished to remain in the rear till the last convoy of sick and wounded could be sent across the Adansi hills ; and in the next place, on the 9th, a messenger from the King of Ashanti arrived in our camp at Detchiasu, expressing the king's desire to make peace, and offering to accede to all the Major-General's terms. This messenger was not one of the king's court, but was recognised by M. Bonnat, and by others, as a merchant who had formerly lived at Juabin, and lately at Coomassie. He begged the Major-General to halt the forces under Captain Glover, which were advancing from the east ; and the Major-General wrote to that officer a letter, which will be again noticed, and informed the king's messenger that he would himself halt at Fommanah until the 13th, and that if by the night of the 12th the king sent to him 5000 ounces of gold he would make peace, and order Captain Glover's forces back across the Prah.

Before returning to these negotiations it will be well to explain the course of events with the forces under command of Captains Glover, Butler, and Dalrymple.

We left Captain Dalrymple at Kotakee on the 24th January with about 50 men belonging to King Apecoon, all that he had as yet succeeded in obtaining from the seven kings and chiefs to whom he had been commissioned. On the 25th Kings Apecoon and Quasi Bedoo agreed to march to Badua in two days ; King Quasi Bedoo stating that Badua was his last

village, and that beyond came the Ashanti territory. The kings informed Captain Dalrymple that they must stay at Badua until they could collect their men. "They are evidently," wrote Captain Dalrymple, "both greatly afraid of the Ashantis, and have little heart for fighting with them; and I anticipate very great difficulty in inducing them to cross the boundary. However, his Excellency may rely on our using our most strenuous exertions to get them to enter the enemy's country, and spread the alarm of a large force about to invade them from this direction." Captain Dalrymple told the kings plainly that they must now make their choice between entering the enemy's country, and the withdrawal by his Excellency of all British aid from the Wassaws; that unless they agreed to move with promptness and energy, he should beg of the Governor, when within a few days' time laying down the terms of peace in Coomassie, entirely to omit mention of them. This appeared to have some little effect.

On the 27th, Captain Dalrymple, with Kings Apecoon and Quasi Bedoo, and about 50 men in all, arrived at Badua on the right bank of the river Ofim; but nothing would persuade the kings to move a step further, or to name any time when they would do so, in spite of all the urgent pressure put upon them by the Commissioners. "Both these kings," said Captain Dalrymple, "evidently are afraid of the Governor, but this fear is nothing compared with their abject fear of the Ashantis." King Enimil had sent to say that he wished to obey his Excellency's commands, but that his captains would not obey him. King Krew had quietly gone back to his own territory, and Kings

Buarbin and Atrew remained at Daman. As for the two kings present with Captain Dalrymple, he thus wrote of them :—" I cannot help here expressing our very firm conviction, from what we have seen of these kings, that nothing will induce them to move a step further. Under extremely strong pressure they have come thus far, but with daily increasing reluctance. They have now reached the last village in King Quasi's country ; but though they tell me it is three marches to the nearest Ashanti village, they dare not and will not cross the Ofim river,—they seem to fear even to send scouts lest the Ashantis should hear of them and discover our presence here. I again threatened the kings this morning with our immediate withdrawal should they delay to advance ; but their dread of the Ashantis is the paramount idea in their minds, and is sufficient to completely stifle, for the time, all fear of any consequences which may eventually ensue from their cowardly conduct."

Under these circumstances, when Captain Dalrymple received, about the 30th, a letter from the Major-General, leaving it to his discretion, if he should find it impossible to move the kings, to quit them and come to headquarters, he decided on giving up the utterly useless struggle ; and leaving the kings, under the threat that they would be considered as traitors and punished with the utmost severity, he set off with Captain Moore for headquarters, which he joined during the halt at Fommanah.

The movement of Captain Dalrymple, complete as was his failure to induce the kings to cross the frontier, had been, however, of great value to us. We learnt from the most indisputably certain sources that the

whole of the Becquah fighting men were held in readiness to meet this attack which they had been led to expect from the Wassaw frontier. It was not only that the Major-General had told the king that he was going to attack in this direction ; but the news of Captain Dalrymple's exertions among the kings, and of their having sent to collect their fighting men, had reached the King of Becquah's ears. Thus this diversion was really successful, and we had not had the Becquah contingent opposed to us either at Amoaful or on the Ordah.

Captain Butler on the 24th was, as already described, at Yancoma, his scouts having entered the village of Enoonsu, which its inhabitants had deserted, and which Captain Butler had caused to be occupied by a party of 100 Akims, under Captain Brabazon. During the night of the 24th there was an alarm of approaching Ashantis at Enoonsu, causing considerable confusion ; but no enemy appeared, and in the morning all was quiet. About 9 A.M. on the 25th, however, a body of Ashantis suddenly appeared along the road leading north from the village. The Akim guard held a parley with these men, who said that they had heard there were white men on the main road, and had come to see if there were white men here also. The parley was followed by a couple of shots fired at the guard, whereupon a volley was fired into the Ashantis, three of whom dropped in the bush, their heads being immediately cut off. The Akims appeared to have been quite cheered by this success, which caused the enemy to disappear. Captain Butler, with the main body, reached Enoonsu by a march of ten or eleven miles from Yancoma an hour or two after the skirmish. He

reported that he hoped to push a strong party along the Mansu road, towards Lake Boosum Echuy, on the next day, and if possible to attack the next village. This despatch of Captain Butler's was received by the Major-General at Insarfu the day before the battle of Amoaful.

It was not, however, till the 27th that Captain Butler could get the Akim kings to advance. His advanced-guard, under Captain Brabazon, fell in with the Ashanti scouts four miles from Enoonsu, but the enemy retreated without firing. The village of Akina was reached at 10.40, and found to have been hastily abandoned; but the enemy opened fire from the edge of the bush bounding the village, to which the Akims replied. The Ashantis then fled, but not until two Akims had been killed. On the morning of the 28th, a party of Ashantis crept up to one of the Akim camps and fired into it, wounding two Akims.

Captain Butler had now about 1400 men present, and was very anxious to move on the same day to Mansu, which he estimated as four or five miles distant; and from which he learnt that a road led off towards Amoaful. But the kings made another demand for delay until the position of the main attack could be ascertained by them. On the 29th Captain Butler wrote from Akina that he believed the main road to be only about ten miles due west, its nearest point being Quarman. His scouts had entered Mansu, and found it deserted. Captain Butler now received a letter from the Major-General, written from Moinsey on the 23d, informing him that the enemy would most probably fight at Amoaful; that the main column would probably reach that place about the 29th; and

that it would be of great advantage to the main force if he could strike in on the left flank of the enemy there. In reply, on the 30th, Captain Butler said—"I am now within a very short distance of that place (Amoafu), and yet these kings refuse again to go on. I have offered liberal rewards to any person who will carry a letter direct to the main line, and may yet succeed in getting some one to do so." Captain Butler had sealed and closed his letter, when at 2.45 P.M. he added the following postscript :—"A complete panic has just taken place owing to causes I cannot divine. The entire force is now in full retreat on Yancoma, from which place I will try to gain the main road at Quisah or elsewhere. There has been no attack of any kind, but the desertion of an Ashanti long domiciled in Akim seems to have inspired this most dastardly conduct."

On the 2d February Captain Butler wrote thus from Iribee :—

"After the despatch of my letter of the 29th and 30th ult., a rapid retreat commenced in the whole Akim force. So universal was the panic, that during the greater portion of the night, bodies of men continued to move south, and early in the morning of the 31st Yancoma was reached and left behind. No attempt was made on the part of the kings to excuse or explain their gross treachery, and I could elicit nothing more tangible than that they were too far advanced in Ashanti territory, and that they must be cut off before assistance could reach them.

"My belief is that the statements of a blind Ashanti prisoner taken at Mansu, coupled with a verbal message sent by King Attah of East Akim, the purport of which

I was not made aware of, did much to induce this disgraceful flight.

“In the hasty postscript to my letter of the 30th ult. I had only time to make you acquainted with the fact of the retreat. No previous warning, no intimation whatever, had been given to me that it was the intention of the kings and chiefs to abandon Akina. Indeed, up to the very moment that the retreat began, I was moving through the camps endeavouring to get the Akims to move to Dadiasoo *en route* to Amoaful, and I had actually engaged a party of hunters to proceed through the bush to the main line near the latter place. Yet so complete was the flight, that within two hours not a man was left in Akina ; and long before midnight every Akim was behind the Enoon river, ten miles distant ; and all this without a reverse having taken place, and after a loss of only two killed and two wounded in the entire force.

“I cannot express to you the feelings with which I beheld this total break up of the movement. Little by little, step by step, I had succeeded in leading these savages to within a very trifling distance of the point aimed at. It is true that there were many indications of how utterly untrustworthy was the composition of the force under my command ; but, nevertheless, at Akina I naturally looked at the task as all but accomplished, and my junction with the main body at Amoaful, within a few miles of Coomassie, as only a question of some hours. Encumbered with baggage, without carriers save those given me by the kings, and with three of my officers sick from actual fever, or its recent presence, I dared not await at Akina the chances of communication from the main body. I had to abandon



the fruits of no little labour at the moment success seemed most assured.

"The kings, with about a quarter of the original force, are now encamped close to the Prah at Embronem. They have refused to move to Prahsu. The remainder of the men are scattered or dispersed to their homes. I will proceed to headquarters with all speed, and afterwards be ready to undertake such punishment as the Major-General may determine to inflict upon the Akim chiefs."

Thus Captain Butler's mission collapsed when almost on the point of its complete accomplishment ; but it had rendered us the most signal service. On the 30th, when he was writing from Akina, the main body was at Insarfu, and orders had been issued for the attack upon Amoaful. Had Captain Butler advanced from Akina he would have been met by the whole of the Kokofoo fighting men, who were assembled to bar his progress, and who remained in this position till after our success at Amoaful, and were too late to oppose us in our subsequent advance. This powerful contingent was thus neutralised by Captain Butler's force ; and the reader will not fail to appreciate the energy and force of character which had succeeded in raising a force of 1400 Akims without any nucleus of Houssas or other disciplined troops, and inducing them to march so far across the frontier as to be almost within gunshot sound of Amoaful, where the main body of the enemy was encamped. Captain Butler joined us in the camp at Agemmamu after our return there on the 7th February.

Let us now return to Captain Glover: We last left him at Abogoo, having sent out reconnaissances on the 21st and 23d, and driven out the enemy from Jaashi.

On the 25th, 200 Akims, whom he despatched to attack a small village to his left rear, were repulsed with a loss of two killed and four wounded. Only twenty of them came into action, the rest retreating before firing a shot. The Akims pretended that they thought the village was occupied by Western Akims, so four Houssas were sent with a red English ensign, which Captain Glover had informed Captain Butler would be the mark of the left of his force. But the Akims refused to go on, and were only prevented from bolting back to Abogoo by a rocket being directed down the road to head them back. On the 26th, Lieutenant Barnard left Jaashi at 10 A.M., and marched upon Odumassie, carrying the place after a quarter of an hour's skirmish, in which Mr Ponsonby and two Houssas were wounded. The enemy held the bush at the border of the village for about five minutes until dislodged by rockets, when they retreated in the direction of Coomassie or Juabin. In the mean time Captain Glover had left Abogoo at 7 A.M., and forming a junction with 200 men under Captain Sartorius, who had moved on the previous day, and encamped in advance, proceeded to Conomo, three miles due east of Odumassie. A reconnaissance by the King of Eastern Akim and twenty men found the place deserted, and it was immediately occupied by King Attah's force of about 400 men. Captain Glover meanwhile encamped within a mile of Conomo.

It appears that the enemy had made great preparations to meet Captain Glover at Conomo, expecting his advance by that road ; but Lieutenant Barnard's column, moving round their flank by Jaashi upon Odu-

massie, caused them to take flight, and fall back to the Anoom river.

On the 27th, leaving Dr Rowe and 200 Houssas and Yorubas with the King of Akim, to prevent his force from going off in sudden panic, Captain Glover marched to Odumassie. He could not get the Akims to reconnoitre ; and the slaves captured knew nothing except the road from the farm they worked on to the village in which they were captured. Speaking of the Akims Captain Glover said : " The king himself is brave, so is his general, and perhaps 100 out of the 700 of the entire Akim force with him."

Writing on the 28th from Odumassie, Captain Glover said that he was waiting for reinforcements of Aquapims with spare ammunition ; also for the King of Croboe with a large force, all of whom were within three or four marches of him. He placed his position as in latitude 6.38 north and longitude 1.4 west, not more than fifteen or twenty miles from Coomassie or Juabin. His information led him to believe that the enemy would oppose his crossing the river Anoom six hours in advance. Excepting Abogoo, every place occupied had been found swept of sheep and fowls ; consequently, for the last seven days the force had been living upon yams and plantains ; and Captain Glover reported that the officers had no preserved meat of any description.

On the 29th and 30th Captain Sartorius reconnoitred to the south-west, but finding no road leading to the westward from Jaashi, returned. On the 1st February he again went out along the river Anoom, running east and west ; after a five-hours' march crossed it ; and at a quarter of a mile on the other side came upon a village of about fifteen hunters, who were surprised

and ran away, leaving their guns and venison. About two miles further west he came upon the enemy in large force, but they fled, having wounded two Houssas. Farther on he came upon a deserted village, and still continued his march west, the road all this time running along the bank of the river Anoom. About three miles farther he came upon a large camp of the enemy again deserted. After considerable marching and counter-marching, the guide having lost his way, Captain Sartorius halted for the night not far from the empty camp. Next morning he sent out a patrol, which fell back, finding the enemy in great force in the camp which had been empty on the previous night. Captain Sartorius now threw out a line of skirmishers in front and rear of his camp, and Captain Larcom, who was with him, placed his rocket-trough in the pathway leading to the enemy's camp. The Ashantis then came down to attack, singing their war-song; but on one of them being shot, and the advance being sounded, they at once ran away. Captain Sartorius did not pursue them, his men being all in disorder; and he halted in his existing position. In the mean time Lieutenant Barnard had attacked the enemy's camp on the other side. Captain Sartorius then advanced and met that officer. In this skirmish four Hous-sas were killed, and three of them were decapitated by the Ashantis; but the heads were recovered by Mr Phillip, a missionary teacher who acted as interpreter to Captain Sartorius. Captain Sartorius considered the enemy to have been 800 or 1000 strong, and that their loss must have been considerable. The force of Captain Sartorius and Lieutenant Barnard now returned to the camp at Odumassie. The Akims advanc-

ing from Conomo also felt the enemy three hours in their front on the Juabin road and on the south side of the river Anoom.

On the 3d February Captain Glover received more ammunition, having now 145 spare rounds for his Houssas and 126 for his Yorubas, with 195 rockets and 72 rounds of shell and case for his 7-pounder gun. On the 4th, still at Odumassie, he wrote: "I am waiting for reinforcements to come up, having only in camp fit for duty 262 Houssas and 262 Yorubas—total 524." His sick-list showed 27 Houssas and 21 Yorubas besides 12 wounded—total 60; and he was obliged to keep 200 Houssas and Yorubas at Abogoo, in consequence of the "unreliableness" of the Akims, who withdrew their men without leave or warning. The road from Abogoo to the Prah had been interrupted, as the Akims would not patrol; but fortunately the Akims were the sufferers, losing three of their men by a surprise. "Until reinforcements arrive," wrote Captain Glover, "I cannot move from this without cutting off all communication with my rear, and I have not sufficient ammunition up to run such risk. As soon as reinforcements and ammunition come up I shall close in on the main body." Captain Glover was expecting Lieutenant Moore immediately with 1000 Aquapims and Croboes, and still larger reinforcements in a few days. At this time, when the Major-General was entering Coomassie, the Akims were looking at the Ashantis across the Anoom river from Impaya, waiting for Captain Glover to attack them. They were like a flock of sheep, utterly without discipline, and they could neither be got to fight, patrol, nor go on outpost. Captain Glover had now got up about 200 lb. of bread and the same of rice, and 28

tins of preserved beef, the total supplies for his whole force. He had heard from Captain Butler, under date of the 26th, from Enoonsu, the Enoon being probably the same river as the Anoom in front of Captain Glover. His last dates from the Major-General were Prahsu the 19th and Moinsey the 23d January.

At Fommanah, on the 27th January, the Major-General had received Captain Glover's despatch dated Abogoo, 17th, when Captain Glover had said that he should be unable at present to advance for want of stores and ammunition. But no further news whatever from him was received until the return of the Major-General to Amoaful on the 8th February. Thus up to the 8th February the Major-General was in complete ignorance of Captain Glover's movements between the 17th January and that date ; and on the day when we entered Coomassie, and indeed on the day of our return to Amoaful, Captain Glover was in ignorance of our movements to any later date than the 23d of Jan. when the headquarters were at Moinsey. Captain Glover was, however, on the day of the battle of Amoaful, and also on the day when we entered Coomassie, holding the Juabin force in check on the river Anoom, and thus drawing off from opposition to the main body the same number of men that were drawn off by Captains Butler and Dalrymple respectively, the full contingent of each of the chiefs of Juabin, Becquah, and Kokoofoo, being 2000 men.

On the 7th February Captain Glover was still at Odumassie, his total force consisting of 416 Houssas, 507 Yorubas, 2318 Akims, 600 Croboes, and 690 Aquapims. Of these, 1650 were in camp at Odumassie, 1800 at Conomo, 700 on patrol, and 200 at Obogoo.

Captain Glover now received news that Quabinah Fuah and the Western Akims had recrossed the river Prah, and wrote to the king, urging him to recross the Prah, and make a junction with Captain Glover's force.

The same heavy rains from which we had suffered on the Ordah, and at Coomassie, had fallen in the neighbourhood of Captain Glover's force, and had swollen the river Anoom till it was as large and as deep as the Prah. The Ashantis were still holding the line of that river, and Captain Glover's Akims were so useless that he told them they were helping the Ashantis and not him, and threatened to burn their camp and drive them home to their women. In the mean time, Captain Glover had taken steps to move his sick and wounded behind the Prah.

On the 7th February, the Major-General wrote to Captain Glover, advising him of our proceedings up to that date, expressing his total ignorance of Captain Glover's position, informing him of the break-up of Captain Butler's force, and directing him to return to the Prah. On the 8th, at the headquarters at Amoaful, Captain Glover's despatches to 28th inst. were received, and another copy of the order to retire upon the Prah was sent to him by way of Prahsu, Beronassie, and Abogoo. On the 9th, however, when the messenger arrived from the King of Ashanti, supplicating peace and requesting the Major-General to order the return of Captain Glover's force, orders were sent to Captain Glover by the hands of this messenger, who promised that the letters should be conveyed. The orders were to the following effect: That the General intended to remain at Fommanah till the 13th or 14th, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, and that if Captain

Glover could safely remain where he was at the time of receiving the letter, he was to do so until that date. He was to exercise his own discretion on this point; "for," wrote the Major-General, "although I am anxious that you should halt where you are until the 14th inst., it is of still greater importance that you should not compromise the safety of your force. I have defeated the Ashanti army in two general actions, having had five days' hard fighting with it, so I do not think it capable of undertaking any serious operation at present; but the Juabin and Kokofoo tribes have not been engaged in the actions along the main line, the former having been employed in watching you, and the latter in watching Captain Butler. Whatever may be your decision, fall back on the Prah on the 14th inst. unless you receive other orders from me." This letter was never received by Captain Glover.

His ammunition having been completed to 200 rounds per man, Captain Glover left Odumassie on the morning of the 8th, and bivouacked for the night in the Ashanti camp, whence Captain Sartorius and Lieutenant Barnard had driven the enemy, finding corn and grain flour which had been left behind. The next day they breakfasted in a very large camp, capable, according to Captain Glover, of containing 4000 to 5000 men. He was there joined by Lieutenant Moore, R.N., and some 4000 Akims, Aquapims, and Croboes. The enemy had left in hot haste, and the road was strewn with the *débris* of their flight. A wounded straggler from Captain Sartorius's force had approached the enemy's camp during the night following Captain Sartorius's action, and had heard the enemy discussing the hopelessness of fighting Europeans and Houssas.



As Captain Glover had reported on the 4th that the enemy was still holding the river in front of him in force, it is evident that they had not retreated before that date; and there can be little doubt that the cause of their retreat was not merely the presence of Captain Glover's force in their front, but the terrible news which must have reached them on the night of the 4th, or on the 5th, of the occupation of Coomassie, and the defeat of the main Ashanti army led by the king in person.

After a march of ten miles, principally northwards, Captain Glover bivouacked for the night on the left bank of a river, name unknown; and on the 10th marched north-west about five miles to a village on the south of Essiam Impon, whence at noon he despatched Captain Sartorius to open communication with Sir Garnet Wolseley, whom he supposed to be at Coomassie. He had with him at Essiam Impon 700 Houssas and Yorubas, 3 7-pounder guns, 3 rocket-troughs, and 204 spare rounds of ammunition per man.

The King of Juabin had sent in his submission to Captain Glover, who had been informed of our occupation of Coomassie. Captain Glover says, "I sent his messenger back ordering the king to go to your Excellency at Coomassie." Captain Glover supposed himself to be seven miles from Coomassie, and intended to halt at Akina, the next village, until he should receive orders from Sir Garnet Wolseley. "My men," wrote Captain Glover, "have had only one ounce of salt meat per man since the 18th January, and that one four days since. Captain Sartorius, 6th Bengal Cavalry, who takes this, has done excellent and hard service."

Starting with an escort of about 20 Houssas, and

mounted on a pony, Captain Sartorius set out for Coomassie. He found that Essiam Impon was not seven miles from Coomassie, as Captain Glover had supposed, but eighteen miles east of that place. Riding on with his escort, he was fired at once from the bush, but only once. He slept on the night of the 10th four miles short of Coomassie, and on the 11th rode into Coomassie, which he found absolutely deserted, except by one or two stragglers apparently seeking plunder, who fled on his approach. He found the palace walls still standing, but so shaken and tottering from the effect of the mines which had been fired, that in his opinion the first heavy rain would bring them down; and it would be quite impossible to roof them again. Riding on through Coomassie, Captain Sartorius on the night of the 11th reached Amoaful; and about noon of the 12th, to our intense astonishment, rode into our camp at Fommanah. This gallant piece of service corresponded with the rest of the career of this brave officer, whose previous dashing acts in India were emulated by those done by him on every occasion when he had met the enemy under Captain Glover's command.

At 2 P.M. on the 10th, Captain Glover, finding himself one mile from the river Ordah, which he had Sir Garnet Wolseley's orders not to cross, halted at Akina. At 3 P.M. on the 11th he crossed the Ordah, and halted for the night at Apragmassie, and at 1 P.M. on the 12th entered Coomassie. There he learned that messengers had passed down from the king accepting Sir Garnet's terms, and carrying a first instalment of the indemnity. He then marched down by easy marches to Quarman, having had no intelligence from the Major-General later than the 23d January.

Meanwhile, on the night of the 12th, the envoy from the King of Ashanti returned to the Major-General, and halted at Dompooassie, about two miles from our out-posts, sending in word that he desired permission to treat with Sir Garnet, and that the envoy would not have come had he not fulfilled the conditions demanded by his Excellency. Orders were sent out that the embassy might come to the camp if they had brought the gold; and on the morning of the 13th inst., two envoys, with a suite of carriers, were received at Fommanah. It was at once evident, by their mysterious manner, that they had brought the gold. Their first wish, however, was to see privately Dawson or Plange; but on being told that these persons had gone away to Cape Coast, they wished to see Captain Buller and his interpreter, to whom they proceeded to offer a present of gold-dust for their private use. Then they stated that they had only brought 1000 ounces of gold: they declared that the king could not at present produce any more; that he had never been required to pay such a large sum; that even Governor Maclean had only demanded 600 ounces of gold as a temporary security. Then they were told to produce what gold they had; and a curious and interesting sight was seen when the heavy leather bag was opened, and the gold was produced. Many of the readers of this volume have probably seen that gold at Messrs Garrard's in the Haymarket; but they have not seen the strange sight of its being weighed out by the messengers under our little shelter mess-shed at Fommanah. We had with us the official gold-tester from Cape Coast, and he examined every article as it was produced. With the exception of the gold-dust, all was pure virgin gold.

Ornaments of every description, masses of what appeared to be broken-up necklaces and bracelets, large gold *plaques*, with bosses in the centre, nuggets and ornaments of all sorts, kinds, and shapes, formed the bulk of this curious collection. The envoys watched the weighing with the most eager care, and haggled over the 100th part of a grain in the scales. The gold-dust was carefully sifted by our valuer, and the dross removed from it; for it seems that adulteration, especially in gold-dust, is practised to a very large extent in Ashanti. Indeed, amongst the loot we had brought away from the palace were several bags of fine brass-dust, which we had taken for gold-dust, but which afterwards turned out to be the spurious article used by the king to mix with real gold-dust when he makes payments. At last 1000 ounces of gold were carefully weighed out, and then the envoys were asked for the rest. They declared it could not be given; but a little pressure extracted from various folds of their garments articles weighing about 40 ounces more. That, however, was the end; and as the mere question of the amount of payment mattered little or nothing, the Major-General allowed the envoys to take back a draft treaty for the king's signature. The fact of a payment having been made, the fact of the king recognising his defeat, and of his own accord paying up a portion of the indemnity, was of vast importance; the amount which he should pay, of little or no consideration. The king had made his submission. It was no longer mere deception and lying. The outward and visible sign of that submission was in our hands; and the Major-General could afford to be generous as to the mere money payment. The following draft treaty was

placed in the hands of the messengers, and was explained to them paragraph by paragraph.

“Treaty of Peace between Major-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, C.B., K.C.M.G., acting on behalf of her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Saibee Enquie, acting on behalf of his Majesty Koffee Kalkalli, King of Ashanti.

#### ARTICLE I.

“There shall be hereafter perpetual peace between the Queen of England and her allies on the Coast on the one part, and the King of Ashanti and all his people on the other part.

#### ARTICLE II.

“The King of Ashanti promises to pay the sum of 50,000 ounces of approved gold as indemnity for the expenses he has occasioned to her Majesty the Queen of England by the late war; and undertakes to pay 1000 ounces of gold forthwith, and the remainder by such instalments as her Majesty’s Government may from time to time demand.

#### ARTICLE III.

“The King of Ashanti, on the part of himself and his successors, renounces all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, Akim, Adansi, and the other allies of her Majesty formerly subject to the kingdom of Ashanti.

#### ARTICLE IV.

“The king, on the part of himself and of his heirs and successors, does hereby further renounce for ever

all pretensions of supremacy over Elmina, or over any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch Government, and to any tribute or homage from such tribes, as well as to any payment or acknowledgment of any kind by the British Government in respect of Elmina or any other of the British forts and possessions on the Coast.

## ARTICLE V.

“The king will at once withdraw all his troops from Apollonia and its vicinity, and from the neighbourhood of Dixcove, Secondec, and the adjoining coast-line.

## ARTICLE VI.

“There shall be freedom of trade between Ashanti and her Majesty’s forts on the Coast, all persons being at liberty to carry their merchandise from the Coast to Coomassie, or from that place to any of her Majesty’s possessions on the Coast.

## ARTICLE VII.

“The King of Ashanti guarantees that the road from Coomassie to the river Prah shall always be kept open and free from bush to a width of 15 feet.

## ARTICLE VIII.

“As her Majesty’s subjects and the people of Ashanti are henceforth to be friends for ever, the king, in order to prove the sincerity of his friendship for Queen Victoria, promises to use his best endeavours to check the practice of human sacrifice, with a view to hereafter putting an end to it altogether, as the practice is repugnant to the feelings of all Christian nations.

## ARTICLE IX.

“One copy of this Treaty shall be signed by the King of Ashanti, and sent to the Administrator of her Majesty’s Government at Cape Coast Castle within fourteen days from this date.

## ARTICLE X.

“This Treaty shall be known as the Treaty of Fommanah.

“Dated at Fommanah, this 13th day of February 1874.”

The envoys objected to two clauses only; they professed not to have understood that the sum of money demanded was so large as 50,000 ounces; but it was explained to them that the king had already given a written promise to pay that amount: and they objected to the insertion of the Adansi tribe in the list of those to whom the King of Ashanti was to renounce all right and title.

At this point it may be well to explain the reason of the insertion of the Adansis in the list of tribes to whom the King of Ashanti was to renounce all further claim.

Before our return to Fommanah, Cobbina Obbin, the King of Adansi, sent messengers to the officer commanding that post, expressing his desire to leave the Ashanti kingdom, and to settle with his people south of the Prah, under British protection. The Major-General, being referred to, sent to say that if Cobbina Obbin would come into Fommanah, he would hear what he had to say. On the evening of the 11th, the

king and a number of his chiefs arrived, accompanied by some chiefs of Denkera and Wassaw, and was housed in a court of his own palace, the only building left standing in the town of Fommanah.

On the 12th, the Major-General sent a staff officer to hold an interview with him, when he stated that he wished to leave his alliance with the King of Coomassie, and to live under British rule. He stated that he was king over eleven villages, the most northern of which were Adubiassie and Dampoassie; and that his kingdom extended as far as the Prah, all his villages lying either on the main road or to the west of it, and that he could produce 1000 armed men in war. He told us, that which we had already heard from other quarters, that his people were looked upon more as enemies than as friends by the King of Coomassie, as regards war against the Fantis; and that he was kept altogether in the dark as to the King of Ashanti's movements, except in so far as they related to his own immediate tribe. He declared that he had been unwilling to fight against us in the present invasion, and that when the King of Coomassie had sent for all his women, which is the preliminary step for the collection of men for defensive war, he had refused to send them; that then Essaman Quantah and Quasi Doomfie came from Coomassie to order his people to fight, but that at Borborassie his people would not fight, and that we had been opposed only by the immediate followers of these two Ashanti chiefs, who had after the action gone away in rage. His desire now was to remove with his whole tribe across the Prah into the Assin country, or, if land could not be granted him there, he would gladly go into the old Denkera



bush, so long as he might be under British protection. He was told that no protection could possibly be granted him ; but he still expressed the same desire to migrate, and the Wassaw and Denkera chiefs expressed themselves most anxious that he should do so. He declared that by thus giving in his submission to the Governor, and making this demand, he had openly revolted from the King of Ashanti, and that he could have nothing more to do with him in future. He further stated that the King of Becquah had sent him messengers to say that he was unable to fight any more against Europeans, and desired to give in his submission to the Governor ; but that he (Cobbina Obbin) had sent these messengers back to say that he was making his own submission, and when that was settled, he would give the King of Becquah's message.

The Major-General would not decide anything upon this Adansi question hastily ; but when the Ashanti envoys had brought the gold and expressed their desire to make a treaty, it became necessary to deal with the matter ; and on the 13th, the Major-General himself saw the King of Adansi, who reiterated his desire to come under British protection. The Major-General informed him that he could give him no protection,—that he must fight his own battles, and that nothing could be guaranteed to him as to what course her Majesty might in the future pursue. But the King of Adansi declared that under any circumstances he must now emigrate, because his negotiations with the Governor would bring upon him the vengeance of the King of Ashanti, which would be shown by terribly strong measures ; and he expressed such eager desire on the part of himself and his people to escape from

the Ashanti rule, that the Major-General did not feel justified in refusing to sanction an arrangement which appeared to have been amicably made between him and the Wassaws. Accordingly, Cobbina Obbin was told that no hindrance would be offered to this migration in the event of his resolving to carry it out. The matter was not regarded with favour by the Major-General, as it would no doubt tend to complicate our relations with the King of Ashanti; but having been forced to let the negotiations go thus far, he felt it his duty to insert in the treaty sent to the King of Ashanti for signature, the name of the Adansi tribe amongst those to whom the king renounced all claim; and this was fully explained to the Ashanti envoys.

Several marked differences will be found between this treaty and that of 1831. It is made between the Queen of England and the King of Ashanti alone; and the Kings of the Fanti and other tribes are not parties to it, as they were to the treaty of 1831. The King of Ashanti resigns once more his right or title to tribute or homage from these various kings, and in addition, from the King of Adansi. The 4th article is also new, in which the king distinctly disclaims all pretensions to supremacy over Elmina, or any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch Government; and the 5th article also pledges him to the withdrawal of his troops from the windward coast. Freedom of trade and liberty for the Ashantis to carry their merchandise to the coast, or other persons from the coast to Coomassie, are established by it, as they were in the treaty of 1831; but the King of Ashanti is further pledged to keep open the road

from Coomassie to the Prah to the width of 15 feet. Instead of 600 ounces of gold and the two princes that were handed over to Governor Maclean, 1000 ounces of gold are paid down, and the remainder of 50,000 ounces is to be paid by such instalments as her Majesty's Government may from time to time demand. Sir Garnet Wolseley did not contemplate that the remainder of this money would ever be obtained from the king; but should he sign the treaty, the right to claim future payment might be used as a lever against him in case of necessity. As regards the Adansis, it was clearly explained to the envoys that the migration was voluntary on their part, and that it was an act with which the Major-General could not interfere.

The same afternoon the envoys returned to Coomassie with the draft treaty for the king's signature; and a letter was written to Captain Glover informing him of all that had taken place, telling him that the King of Ashanti had paid the first part of the indemnity, and that the Major-General was going to sign the treaty of peace. Captain Glover was therefore desired to retire all his troops at once behind the Prah, and conduct them to Accra. This letter was received by Captain Glover at Quarman on the 14th.

On the 14th the Major-General left Fommanah, and proceeded with the staff by double marches in hammocks to Cape Coast, arriving there on the 19th February. Most of the staff had suffered more or less at Fommanah. Huts roofed with plantain-leaves are bad habitations when the leaves begin to decay. Fommanah had been too long inhabited as a camp; and there was scarcely one of us who did not in some form

or other feel the effects of that halt. The road to the coast was in most excellent condition, thanks to the exertions of Captain Jones, R.E. The swampy places were thoroughly put in order, and the bridges all repaired, though heavy thunderstorms and cattle traffic had done much damage. Extra huts had been erected at the camps, and 200 separate beds put up at Prahsu hospital.

Captain Glover marched on the 15th to Moinsey, and halted there for the night. There a messenger from the King of Ashanti arrived, bringing with him fourteen ounces of gold and a gold dish as a present to Captain Glover, and requesting that he would order the King of Eastern Akim, who had gone to Juabin in order to attempt to detach the king of that place from his alliance with the King of Ashanti, to return at once to his own country. Captain Glover returned the present; and sent to the King of Akim a copy of the Major-General's letter of the 14th, directing him to at once recross the Prah and return to his country with all his people. By the same opportunity Captain Glover wrote to Mr Bannerman, directing him to break up the camp at Abogoo, and march to Accra with the detachment there, taking up all the sick on the road. On the 16th, Captain Glover reached Essiaman with 4448 men, 715 of whom were disciplined forces, arriving at Prahsu on the 17th. He detached from that place the native allies, with orders to move eastward into their own country, and marched down the main road with his disciplined troops to Annamaboe. From the moment of their arrival at Essiaman Captain Glover's forces were well supplied. It had been a matter of grave consideration how the stores were ever to be

cleared out of Essiaman, which had become filled with supplies brought down from further up the country. Captain Glover's 5000 men saved all further trouble on that head. Essiaman was cleared out on the 20th, and the stockade destroyed. The three rear companies of the 1st West India Regiment marched into the bridge-head at Prahsu on the 21st, were withdrawn from it on the 23d, and the bridge across the Prah was then destroyed.

So ended the invasion of Ashanti. How completely successful that invasion was, how complete the moral ascendancy established by our troops, is shown by the fact that there arrived on the 25th at Annamaboe, where Captain Glover then was, seven carriers with a mail-bag which they had conveyed from Accra *via* Eastern Akim and Abogoo to Coomassie in search of Captain Glover, passing through Coomassie on the 18th, seeing only a few people who fled at their approach, and thence descending by the main road to Prahsu and Annamaboe. In the last days of February all the posts between Prahsu and Mansu were cleared out of stores, and garrisons were left at both these places.

The days intervening between the Major-General's arrival at Cape Coast and his departure on the 4th of March were not idly passed. Amongst the many matters to be dealt with the following demand special attention : Instructions had been received by the Major-General from her Majesty's Government to make arrangements as far as possible for garrisoning the Coast after the war by indigenous troops ; and he drew up the following minute in regard to its future defence :—

“I am of opinion that it will be advisable for some time to come to maintain a small military post at

Prahsu. I have ordered a very strong redoubt to be constructed there on our bank of the river capable of holding one gun and a garrison of 200 men, but easily defensible by half that number.

“Mansu, where there is also a redoubt, should also have a small garrison, it being about half-way between the river Prah and the coast.

“As the great object of these posts is to protect Ashanti traders from the insults and exactions of the Fantis, I consider that the garrison of both should consist of soldiers or police selected from tribes situated without the so-called Protectorate.

“I propose, therefore, enlisting into the military police of this Government 150 Houssas, 100 to be stationed at the Prah and 50 at Mansu, both posts being under native officers, and to be frequently inspected by a European officer of the police force sent from Cape Coast for that purpose.

“In future dealings with the King of Ashanti, he should be informed of these measures being adopted simply for the protection of his traders from insult.

“As soon as the Houssa garrisons have been thus established, the detachment 1st West India Regiment now at those places to be withdrawn to Cape Coast.

“The 2d West India Regiment to be sent back to the West Indies as soon as naval transport can be obtained for it.

“The 1st West India Regiment, numbering in round numbers 26 officers and 550 men, to be distributed as follows :—

Headquarters and 250 men	at Cape Coast.
150 men	at Elmina.
50    "	Accra.
100   "	Sierra Leone.

“The posts of Secondee, Axim, and Dixcove to be held by armed police, 50 men at each place. These may perhaps by-and-by be reduced to one-half that strength.

“As it is very necessary to open out the Volta to trade, it would be necessary, I think, to hold Addah by 100 armed police, appointing a European officer to be commandant and collector of customs there, and stationing a medical officer there also.

“As Lord Kimberley gives permission to have Quittah reoccupied, I think that a similar garrison to that proposed for Addah should also be stationed there.

“All these garrisons to be armed with Snider rifles, to have 500 rounds of ammunition per man, and to be always provisioned for three months at least.

“As regards Cape Coast itself, I see no reason why all the regular troops should not be withdrawn from there within about one year at latest from the present time, a garrison of 300 armed police being substituted in their place. If possible, I think it would be well that it should consist of three companies, each of 100 men, and that each company should be of a different nationality. One company to be of Fantis, to perform the civil police duties of the place, one of Houssas, and one of Sierra Leone men, or of Houssas or Yorubas. The first to be stationed permanently in the Police Barracks now existing in the town; the others, one in the Castle and the other on Connor’s Hill, quarters being changed every two or three months between those two. In each of these two companies there should be twelve men trained as gunners.

“Changes of quarters might also, with advantage, be made between these companies and those stationed at Prahsu.

“ The present European staff of the police force here consists of an inspector-general and of an inspector. Captain Baker, who is at present occupying the former post, is an admirable officer, and in every way well suited for the duties of his post.

“ I would recommend that the European staff of the police should be as follows :—

- 1 Inspector-General.
- 1 Assistant-Inspector.
- 1 Adjutant.
- 1 Paymaster and Quartermaster.

“ Mr Woolhouse, who is now inspector, would do well as paymaster and quartermaster.

“ When the regular troops are withdrawn from Elmina, I think a garrison of 100 police would be ample for all the purposes required there, to be quartered in the Castle,—50 to be Fantis to do the civil police work, and 50 to be foreigners, of whom 12 should be trained to gun-drill.

“ The armed police to be maintained by this Government after the withdrawal of the regular troops would therefore be as follows :—

Prahsu, . . . . .	100 men.
Mansu, . . . . .	50 „
Cape Coast, . . . . .	300 „
Elmina, . . . . .	100 „
Addah, . . . . .	100 „
Quittah, . . . . .	100 „
Accra, . . . . .	50 „
Dixcove, . . . . .	50 „
Seconde, . . . . .	50 „
Axim, . . . . .	50 „
Annamaboe, . . . . .	25 „
Total,	975 „



“This might, I think, in a year, when affairs have settled down into their ordinary peace routine, be easily reduced to 800 men.

“I have sent Mr Goldsworthy to the Volta to make peace with the Aquamoos and the Ahwoonahs ; but as I do not know what may be the views of the Governor-in-Chief with reference to maintaining forces at Prahsu, Mansu, Addah, and Quittah, I have not entered into any final arrangements for providing the Houssas required to furnish the garrisons for these posts ; but I have directed Captain Glover to leave 350 Houssas at Annamaboe to await Mr Berkeley's arrival here, so that, should he concur in my views, he can establish these posts at once. I have left a garrison of 200 men at Prahsu, and 50 men at Mansu (both garrisons composed of 1st West India Regiment), as a temporary measure. Should Mr Berkeley not wish to occupy those posts with Houssas, I think that, under any circumstances, the regular troops should be withdrawn from them as soon as possible, as I consider it would be most objectionable to leave any European officers at either place during the rainy season.

“If neither place is to be occupied at all, the redoubt there should be destroyed when the posts are abandoned, and all military stores withdrawn to Cape Coast.

“If the 350 Houssas left by Captain Glover, at my request, at Annamaboe, are not required for the police of this Government, they should be at once paid off and sent to their homes.

“If Prahsu is to be maintained as a post, I would recommend that the Houssa Sergeant-Major Alli should be placed in command of it.”

In regard to our future dealings with the Fanti kings and chiefs, the following minute was also drawn up :—

“The kings and chiefs of what is commonly known as the Protectorate, have not, as a body, afforded me the assistance I had calculated upon receiving from them in the war.

“It is stated, upon what is said to be good authority here, that in April 1873 they collected together an armed force of over 50,000 men, with which they engaged the enemy at Dunquah and Jooquah, being defeated on both occasions. They did this without any aid or assistance from us that is worth mentioning; beyond supplying them with some lead and powder, we did really nothing for them. They asked for money and for arms but did not obtain them.

“When I arrived and explained to them the intentions of her Majesty’s Government, and called upon them once more to collect their armed men, they hung back and evinced no alacrity in preparing for war, although I promised them arms, ammunition, and regular pay for themselves and their soldiers. I attached to each king an English officer, and at their request assisted them with armed police to aid them in collecting their men.

“Dunquah was the place of rendezvous where I sent a lieutenant-colonel to assume the command. The largest number ever assembled there was about 3000 armed men.

“The Cape Coast companies under Chief Attah assembled at Napoleon about 600 strong. Having endeavoured by means of English officers attached to each tribe to give them some sort of organisation, I

sent them against the enemy upon several occasions, associating with them almost invariably some regular or other disciplined troops. They invariably displayed the greatest cowardice, running away by hundreds, and leaving their English officers at the mercy of the enemy.

“The only exception to this rule was the King of Annamaboe, who set the others a good example more than once. The Abra men under their king did well sometimes; but as a rule they also feared to face the Ashantis, even when led by English officers.

“I endeavoured to get the Cape Coast Volunteers to fight at Abrakrampa; but if possible they were even greater cowards than the other tribes, and their head chief Attah was perhaps the greatest coward amongst them.

“Perceiving that it was a useless waste of time and public money, and especially of the lives of the valuable English officers deputed to lead them, I disarmed all those who had turned out, and by degrees converted them into carriers, still keeping an English officer with each tribe, with a view to keeping them together, of paying them, and of otherwise superintending their transport duties. By little and little their number kept falling off, and in some instances whole tribes deserted *en masse*; until at last I felt that the objects of my mission were in danger from want of carriers.

“I had many interviews with the kings and chiefs, explaining to them that a British army was about to land, and that the fighting would be done by English soldiers; but that, in order that they should be able to fight, it was absolutely necessary that they should supply me with the carriers I required to take ammunition and

other stores to the front. I told them this was the only way in which they could further the object of the war. I pointed out to them how I had tried them as fighting men, and that they could never face the Ashantis; this they themselves recognised. I therefore appealed solemnly to their love of country, and to all those feelings that stir the hearts even of savages, and begged of them to help me.

“I reminded them of what I told them on the 4th October when I first addressed them, that her Majesty would only help those that helped themselves, and that unless they came forward and supplied me with the carriers I required, I would send back to England the British regiments then arriving, and would so leave them to fight their own battle with the Ashantis; reminding them that if I did so, they would all be slaves to the King of Ashanti ere six months elapsed. They acknowledged the truth of what I said, but always wound up by asserting that they had no power to coerce their people. I promised good wages to all the carriers furnished, and to each king or chief a monthly stipend of £10 for every 100 carriers supplied by them.

“I lent them officers and police to assist them at their request in collecting their people. All to no purpose—as soon as a few hundred carriers were collected in any one place, they began to desert.

“Having gone so far, I felt I could not allow all further military operations to be brought to an end until I had tried what coercion could effect. I had exhausted all other means for obtaining the carriers I required, so coercion alone remained to be tried. The chief magistrate, from whom I received every assistance upon all occasions during this trying time—in his

capacity as judicial assessor, assembled the native assessor's court of chiefs at Beulah, and passed an ordinance, stating that it was the bounden duty of all men belonging to the tribes in alliance with her Majesty to turn out during the war, and render all and every assistance in their power in any capacity that they might be called upon to act.

"Strengthened with the power thus legally and with the consent and desire of the chiefs conferred upon me, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Colley, who had charge of all the transport duties and line of communication, to adopt coercive measures, and supplied him with regular troops and police to enable him to do so. He had to burn one or two villages, surround others at night, and make prisoners of their men, &c. &c.

"These measures were crowned with complete success, and I obtained the carriers necessary for my operations north of the river Prah.

"Although there is, I know, much truth in what the kings and chiefs always assert as to their having lost all power over their men, owing to our interference with them in the administration of their laws and customs, still I feel convinced that they might have done far more than they did.

"Instead of evincing an alacrity in serving us and an earnest desire to assist us in prosecuting a war, upon the result of which everything so far as they were concerned depended, they invariably regarded every request made upon them as a business transaction from which they were to derive as much profit as they possibly could by a hard bargain with us.

"All the kings and chiefs of the so-called Protectorate have been paid in full for all carriers they sup-

plied, and no further demand on that score should, I think, be entertained.

“King Blay, who has been the only chief on the windward coast that has remained faithful to us throughout, furnished us with some hundreds of carriers ; but as he had been receiving constant presents of provisions, &c., for the last five months, I do not propose giving him any further present beyond a surf-boat, that I have requested the commodore to send him by an early opportunity.

“King Quabina Fuah and Coffee Ahencora of Western Akim received presents of powder and arms. These were given to them upon the express understanding and upon the faith of their promise that they would bring their men into the field.

“I sent three officers and a few police to them. Captain Butler, the senior of these officers, whom I nominated as my commissioner to these Western Akims, reports that they threw every obstacle in his way, breaking faith with him continually. When he had by his indefatigable exertions succeeded in almost forcing the few hundred armed men who had assembled across the Prah, these cowardly rascals headed by their chiefs took fright one evening, bolted back *en masse*, not stopping until they had recrossed the Prah. They never even warned Captain Butler that they were going to do so ; so he was left near the enemy with only a few police. I believe that they heard that a body of Ashantis were on their way to attack them, and that this caused them to decamp. I am strongly of opinion that these kings should be forced to pay back in full every farthing of the value of the arms, &c., &c., &c., supplied.

“The Wassaw kings should be dealt with in exactly a similar manner, their conduct to the officer sent to them as commissioner having been equally deceitful and cowardly : the value of the arms supplied to them I think they should be obliged to pay in full.

“I attach a memorandum from Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, V.C., bringing to notice the valuable service performed by three Elminas ; and as I was upon every occasion myself a witness of the gallant conduct of the two chiefs, and can vouch for the value of the services performed by Interpreter Vroom, I think they should be rewarded.

“I had always intended creating Chief Esservie King of Elmina vice the ex-king now a prisoner at Sierra Leone ; this, however, should not be done hurriedly or without a careful study of the papers referring to the charges against the king at Sierra Leone.

“Dr O'Reilly should also be consulted, as he is well up in all the Elmina affairs.”

A few days before leaving, the Major-General with his staff visited Accra, sailing there as the guests of Commodore Hewett in her Majesty's ship *Active*. The troops who had taken part in the expedition were thus disposed of. The *Tamar*, with the 23d R.W.F., detachment R.A., and other details, sailed for England on the 22d February ; the *Himalaya*, with the Rifle Brigade and detachment R.E., and other details, on the 23d ; the *Thames*, with a number of officers, on the 26th ; the *Victor Emmanuel*, with hospital staff and sick, on the 26th ; and the *Sarmatian*, with the brigade staff, 42d Highlanders, and other details, on the 27th. Colonel Wood's Regiment, turning off from the main

road at Assayboo, marched to Elmina, and was there disbanded. Major Russell's Regiment and Rait's Artillery were disbanded at Cape Coast. All the native troops composing these regiments were sent to the various points on the coast to which they respectively belonged.

On the 4th of March, all arrangements, so far as lay in Sir Garnet Wolseley's power, having been made, he and the headquarters embarked on board the steamship *Manitoba*, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 20th March.

Before our leaving Cape Coast, a number of Wassaw messengers came into Prahsu, and stated that they had got hostages from the King of Adansi for the fulfilment of his promise to come among them, but that he had not arrived at the promised time. They therefore requested that an armed force might be sent to compel him to come in. To this, it need scarcely be said, the Major-General replied that nothing of the sort could be done; that it was entirely an affair between the Wassaws and the King of Adansi, with which he had no intention in any way to interfere. It transpired, however, that the King of Adansi was most anxious to cross the Prah and join the Assins, and that both Chibboo and Inkie were very desirous that he should do so. Sir Garnet Wolseley informed the kings of Assin, who sent to him on this matter, that no steps would be taken until he or his successor in the administration had obtained further information, at the same time sending messengers to the kings of Wassaw to ascertain the actual state of the negotiations between them and the King of Adansi. These messengers had not returned when the Major-General left Cape Coast.



It had been arranged by her Majesty's Government that on the departure of the Major-General for England at the conclusion of the campaign, Mr Berkeley, the Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements, should proceed to the Gold Coast to take over the Government; and Sir Garnet Wolseley had informed him of his hope of being able to embark by the 1st of March. But Mr Berkeley expressed his intention of not coming so soon, and requested that a man-of-war might be sent to bring him from Sierra Leone at such time as the Major-General might be ready.

It need scarcely be said how great was the disappointment which Mr Berkeley's delay caused. We were all commencing to suffer severely from the prolonged strain in this most depressing climate; but the Major-General would not leave the Coast without giving Mr Berkeley the opportunity of consulting with him personally, should he be desirous of availing himself of it; and accordingly decided to postpone his departure from the 1st to the 6th of March. He communicated Mr Berkeley's wish for a man-of-war to the Commodore, who immediately sent H.M.S. Barracouta to Sierra Leone for the conveyance of Mr Berkeley to Cape Coast. "I consider it to be very desirable," wrote Sir Garnet Wolseley, "that your Excellency should come here with all possible speed, as in my opinion it is most important that the arrangements to be made with the native kings and chiefs of the Fanti tribes, and others in alliance with her Majesty, should be carried out by an officer whose relations with this country are of a more permanent character than mine. The hard work, and the exposure of many months, have told seriously upon the officers of my staff, and

they require immediate change of climate. Should it not be possible for your Excellency to be here, at the latest, by the 6th proximo, I shall then, as a temporary measure, hand over the government to Captain Lees, Acting Colonial Secretary, as I shall start for England on the 7th proximo, the latest date to which, taking all things into consideration, I consider it advisable that I should remain here."

Towards the end of February, however, fresh orders arrived from England to the effect that the government was to remain on the same footing as during Sir Garnet's tenure of office, the military and civil commands being united in the senior military officer. Sir Garnet Wolseley was to select the officer, not under the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and to arrange that no officer senior to him should remain in the command. The governorship of the colony was in turn offered to Sir Archibald Alison, Colonel M'Leod, Colonel Greaves, and Lieutenant-Colonel Colley, and by them all refused. The Major-General therefore summoned Colonel Maxwell, commanding the 1st West India Regiment, from Prahsu, and made arrangements for handing over the government of the colony to him, and for embarking in the Manitoban on the 4th.

It will not be necessary to enter into any further details of the events occurring previous to the Major-General's departure. Mr Goldsworthy was sent to make a treaty of peace with the Ahwoonahs and Aquamoos; and Dr Gouldsbury was despatched to the windward coast with instructions to accept the allegiance of the Ashantis and other tribes. It had been Sir Garnet Wolseley's intention to send the 2d West India Regiment to the West Indies at once; but instructions were

received from the Horse Guards that they were to remain at the Gold Coast till arrangements for their reception had been made in the West Indies; and they were consequently detained at Accroful till instructions could be sent from home, the Commodore retaining the steam-transport Nebraska for their removal to the West Indies. The 1st West India Regiment remained to garrison our West African possessions.

## CHAPTER VII.

OPERATIONS ON THE WINDWARD COAST—BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THE ENEMY THROUGH FRENCH TERRITORY.

AMONGST the secondary operations of the war, those on the coast to windward of Elmina require the most notice. As early as January 1873, King Blay, one of the two kings of Apollonia, had informed Dr Gouldsbury, the commandant at Axim, of the advance of a body of Ashanti troops towards Apollonia. They were said to have reached a town in the district of King Amakie, who was written to on the subject, and replied denying the presence of any Ashantis in his country, and saying that he would inform the British should any such movement take place. In April, however, Colonel Harley had become aware that envoys had been sent by King Amakie to Ashanti, and decided to summon Amakie to take the oath of allegiance to the Government, and to arrest him in case of refusal. At Colonel Harley's request, H.M.S. *Coquette*, Lieutenant-Commander Law, sailed with detachments of armed police on board for Secondee, Dixcove, and Axim; embarked at Secondee the detachment of regular troops in garrison there, to increase the garrison at Axim; and took on board Dr Gouldsbury at this latter place on the 25th for Apollonia. Before leaving Axim, Dr Gouldsbury had definite intelligence that

Ashanti messengers had arrived at King Amakie's town of Benin, and had written a letter to that king, to which he had received an unsatisfactory reply. King Blay's son had also given information that a large number of Ashantis had come to Benin, and there purchased ammunition with Amakie's approval. Dr Gouldsbury disembarked at Apollonia with an escort of eight police constables on the afternoon of the 25th, and found that King Amakie and all his chiefs had fled to the bush, fearing that they would be taken prisoners. There were some 500 armed men marching about the town, but no hostilities were attempted. Dr Gouldsbury sent for the king and chiefs, and on the morning of the 26th they came in to the fort, and signed the oath of allegiance, readily and willingly as it appeared. King Amakie said that he had run away because he had heard that the commandant at Axim was coming to take him prisoner, and that although he was not disloyal, he was afraid, because of the false reports which had been circulated against him; he even begged that the fort might be put into repair and some soldiers sent there. Dr Gouldsbury made many inquiries, but could not ascertain that there were any Ashantis really in the district, and the accounts further went to prove that the King of Ashanti was displeased with King Amakie. After haranguing the chiefs, and getting from them three cheers for the Queen, Dr Gouldsbury "dashed" them the usual present of gin, and returned to Axim. The *Coquette* then went back to Cape Coast.

On the 28th June, H.M.S. *Seagull*, Commander Stubbs, was despatched by the senior naval officer to the windward forts with stores and provisions for Dixcove and Secondee, and measures were taken to put the guns at these forts in good order. This was consequent on the

excitement which had been shown among the people surrounding these forts, on hearing of the bombardment of Elmina. Commander Stubbs communicated with the several commandants, and found the state of affairs at the various forts more tranquil, and the natives appeared to be returning to their towns from the bush ; but almost immediately afterwards, Dr Gouldsbury reported the undoubted arrival in Apollonia of a large force of Ashantis, said to be 3000, and the flight of King Amakie to the bush. The Ashantis were said to have detached parties in the neighbourhood of Benin, and King Blay begged earnestly for the assistance of a man-of-war, expecting to be almost immediately attacked in his town of Ingallipoly.

On the 5th July Commodore Commerell arrived at Cape Coast in H.M.S. Rattlesnake, and took command of the ships on the station ; and Colonel Harley now applied to him for a ship to be stationed on the windward coast. The Commodore immediately despatched H.M.S. Merlin, Lieutenant-Commander Day, to visit the windward stations, and to take provisions which were required at Axim. The Merlin proceeded first to Secondee, where the commandant, Captain Stevens, half-pay, late 2d Queen's Regiment, who had volunteered some time since for service on the Gold Coast, was in a state of great alarm, reporting that unless he had a larger garrison he would not answer for the safety of the fort, or the protection of the British subjects in the town. Captain Stevens proceeded in the Merlin to Chamah, and there assembled the kings and chiefs, who denied having assisted the Ashantis, but were evidently to some extent disaffected towards the English. The Wassaws urged Captain Stevens at this date to insist on the people of Chamah

combining with them against the Ashantis, but he was unable to get them to do so. The Merlin proceeded from Secondee to Dixcove, and thence to Axim, where she arrived on the 16th. In the meanwhile, on the 12th, one of King Blay's villages had been attacked by King Amakie's people, presumably assisted by the Ashantis; five of his people were killed and two captains wounded, though they beat off the enemy. On the 16th, King Blay's two chief towns were again attacked, taken, and destroyed by the Ashantis, and King Blay was forced to retire to a place called Christian, about twelve miles from Axim, which was also taken by the enemy on the 19th.

On receipt of this news, Colonel Harley requested the Commodore to send a ship to Axim with a detachment of regular troops, and the Commodore promised to proceed to Axim in the flagship to render assistance if required. But in the mean time Captain Stevens had communicated direct with Colonel Festing that he expected to be attacked the same night (21st July), and the Commodore proceeded to that place first with a small reinforcement of troops. He found the danger not so imminent as had been expected from the tone of the commandant's report. H.M.S. Seagull was now stationed off Secondee, where a detachment of West Indians and Houssas was landed. Ten Houssas were landed at Dixcove, where everything was reported quiet; and the Commodore proceeded to Axim, carrying with him the detachment of 100 2d West Indians, which Colonel Harley had requested Colonel Festing to send in case of any attack being made on the place. On the arrival of the Rattlesnake, Dr Gouldsbury said that no danger to the fort existed, or ever had existed, and that he only wanted some Houssas to assist King Blay, who had taken up a position on the Aboo-

mossoo river at the village of Ampenee, where he was proceeding to intrench himself. The Merlin remained off Apollonia to give a moral support to King Blay by her presence. Some Houssas were brought from Dixcove to Axim, and the Rattlesnake returned to Cape Coast with 60 of the West Indians on board. All now remained quiet about Dixcove ; but Captain Stevens reported great commotion about Secondee. His interpreter had been captured by the King of Tacorady, almost in sight of the fort of Secondee, and he had closed the gates of his fort, and ordered his men to remain under arms, expecting to be attacked at night. The Commodore, after inquiring into affairs, was of opinion that with a firm yet conciliatory commandant, the peace of Secondee might be restored. Captain Stevens was relieved from his post by Captain Helden, and recalled to headquarters, where he was appointed paymaster and quartermaster of the armed police. Captain Helden, on his arrival, was at once successful in obtaining the release of the interpreter, and dispensed with the services of the West Indian detachment. Some policemen belonging to the detachment at Axim, who had been captured by King Amakie, were given up by him to the commander of the Merlin towards the end of July, and Lieutenant Day anchored off Ingallipoly, and fired some shells into the town, dislodging the Ashantis. Both Captain Helden at Secondee, and Dr Gouldsbury at Axim, reported their forts as being quite secure against any attack ; but the whole coast remained in a very excited condition. King Blay was still fighting with the Ashantis, and the towns of Boutry, Adjua, Tacorady, and Chamah, were all reported as hostile to the English ; in fact, the whole of the Ahanta district appeared to be more or less in league with the enemy. The Ashantis



were reported to have fought with the Commendah people, and crossed the Prah from the eastward; the villages about Dixcove were disloyal; and under these circumstances H.M.S. Argus was sent to the windward coast about the 8th August, H.M.S. Merlin being already there.

In consequence of further reports from the windward ports to the effect that King Amakie was allied with the Ashantis and opposing King Blay, and that the loyal people at Dixcove and Secondee were alarmed at the incursions of the Ashantis into the Ahanta country, which was receiving them as friends, the Commodore, at Colonel Harley's request, left Cape Coast on the 13th of August in the Rattlesnake, to hold that interview with the kings and chiefs of Chamah which has been already reported, and which led to the attack upon his boats, and the wound which compelled him to leave the station.

After the bombardment of Chamah, the officer commanding H.M.S. Argus took strong measures to disperse several bands of Dutch Secondee natives, who cleared out of Secondee and took shelter in other villages to the north. H.M.S. Druid was now sent to relieve H.M.S. Barracouta at Elmina, and the latter ship was despatched to the windward coast. On meeting the commander of H.M.S. Merlin at Axim on the 19th August, Captain Fremantle learnt that the Dutch inhabitants at Axim were in revolt, and that the town had been bombarded from the fort. Captain Fremantle now arranged a combined operation with Lieutenant Young of H.M.S. Argus, for the simultaneous attack of the villages of Appoasi, Aboadi, and Tacorady, without warning being previously given. The Argus was to shell Tacorady, and the Barracouta Aboadi, whilst their steam-pinnaces and a paddle-box boat from each ship were to attack Appoasi, where the

Chamahs were now said to be established in considerable numbers.

Aboadi was some distance inland, and appeared to be deserted. Having fired a few shells into it, the *Barracouta* went to support the boats at Appoasi. A considerable fire was opened on the boats, but a few rounds of canister soon cleared the enemy away. The men were then landed, and, having destroyed more than 100 canoes and a quantity of palm-oil, re-embarked about half-past 10 A.M. About sixty men were afterwards landed under Lieutenants Young and Des Barres, to destroy some canoes near Tacorady point. This detachment was fired upon from the bush, and Lieutenant Young, two officers, and twelve men were wounded. Unfortunately the boats were unable to come nearer than 500 yards on account of the surf and rocks of Tacorady reef, and the men were re-embarked without setting fire to the canoes. The *Barracouta* and *Argus* then proceeded to Chamah and re-bombarded it, in order to complete the destruction begun by the *Rattlesnake*. The whole of the loss in wounded had fallen on the *Argus*, and she was sent back to Cape Coast. "It is quite evident," wrote Captain Fremantle, in his report of these proceedings, "that the whole coastline from Cape Coast Castle to Axim, with the exception of Commendah, port of Secondee, and Dixcove, is now in open hostility; and I fear that hard knocks will be the only arguments they will feel inclined to listen to. The opposition we have met with clearly shows that they have long prepared to resist us at Tacorady. The large numbers of the force, if we may judge by the heavy fire, seemed to affirm the truth of the report that there are Ashantis there."

On the 24th August the *Barracouta* returned to Cape

Coast, bringing a report from Dr Gouldsbury at Axim that he and Lieutenant Des Barres of the 2d West India Regiment had been fired at from the bush by a body of natives, whilst engaged with a small escort in searching for the shortest and safest route by which to obtain water for the garrison of the fort. One soldier was killed ; two of the West India Regiment, one policeman, and two natives wounded. This attack, which took place within about 300 yards of the fort, was rather a serious matter, as there were only a few inches of water in the fort tank ; and the only other supply available, except from a stream at considerable distance, was most unsuitable for drinking.

Another report arrived at the same time from Dixcove that the Adjua people had twice attacked a small loyal village near Dixcove, and that a strong body of Ashantis was in camp round that place. H.M.S. Druid was now sent with a detachment of troops under command of Captain Lanyon ; and in a short time Captain Blake reported that confidence had been restored, and that the loyal people were manfully holding their own against the Ashantis. However, in a few days more skirmishing went on near Dixcove, whereupon Captain Blake bombarded the village of Aquidah, and the gunboats Merlin and Decoy destroyed the village of Tacorady.

On the 6th September the distribution of the ships on the coast was as follows : Barracouta and Simoon, Cape Coast ; Argus, Elmina ; Decoy and Merlin, at Secondee ; Druid, at Dixcove ; and Bittern, at Apollonia.

Dr Gouldsbury was indefatigable in his exertions at Axim, and showed much skill and courage in all his conduct of affairs. He assisted King Blay at Apollonia in every possible manner, and on the 13th September proceeded in H.M.S. Druid to visit him. Accompanied by

Captain Blake of the *Druid*, and Commander Stephens of the *Bittern*, he landed at Ampenee, where King Blay's camp was situated, and found that he had erected stockades along the bank of the river Aboomossoo, immediately opposite to a camp of the Ashantis, which was visible from the stockade at a distance of about 500 yards. This stockade of King Blay's was the only specimen of native fortification that came within our cognisance on the west coast of Africa. It extended from the mouth of the river for about three-fourths of a mile along its southern bank, was pierced at short distances with loopholes for musketry, and strengthened at intervals with raised platforms and small towers. The loopholes were about two yards apart, and at each a man was stationed. King Blay also established a regular system of relief of guards, spies, reserves, &c. Akyempon was said to be in this Ashanti camp, and Adoo Boffoo in a small camp near Ingallipoly. The former was said to be ill, and the Ashantis to be badly off both for powder and food. On the 15th, Lieutenant Hext with *H.M.S. Decoy* opened fire upon the Ashanti camp opposite King Blay's position, and the Ashantis temporarily abandoned it. Captain Stephens, writing at this time, reported old King Blay as "a nice old man, and loyal to the backbone."

At this time Axim was partially in a state of blockade by the enemy, and it was unsafe to leave the enclosure of the fort. On the 1st September the *Bittern* bombarded a village called Saltpond, about two miles from Axim; and on the 21st and 23d, Lieutenant Day of the *Merlin* fired upon a number of armed natives near the beach at Secondee, which place was also partially in a state of blockade.

Very little change now took place in the condition of

affairs on the windward coast until some time after the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley. H.M.S. Beacon relieved the Merlin at Secondee, and the Merlin relieved the Druid at Ampenee. On the 10th October the Druid again left Cape Coast for Ampenee, Captain Blake taking with him a present from Sir Garnet Wolseley of gin and a case from the colonial stores, said by Captain Stevens (who had now been transferred from the paymastership of police to the appointment of colonial storekeeper) to contain powder ; but found when opened by King Blay to contain only some bundles of portfires, old damaged half-pound rockets, some copper tubes, and a few useless cart-ridges.

Sir Garnet desired that King Amakie should be communicated with and informed that he would be considered as an enemy of her Majesty unless he came in and placed himself on our side. Captain Blake communicated with King Amakie at Apollonia by sending on shore a letter to him, enclosed in a water-breaker, which reached the shore safely, and was carried by the natives to the king. The surf was too heavy for a boat to live through it. King Amakie sent off excuses that his clerk was away and that he could not read Captain Blake's and Dr Gouldsbury's letters ; he was then told to send off his head chief, upon which he replied that "his head chief had gone to fetch the clerk." Captain Blake gave him warning that if no chief was sent off that afternoon, he should fire upon the town of Benin the next morning. Arrangements were now made for an attack upon the town by King Blay's men from Ampenee, assisted and covered by the Merlin, while the Druid was to bombard it. King Blay's men marched out about four miles from Ampenee, and then received a message from their king to turn back, as

he had heard from Axim that he was about to be attacked from that side the next day ; so Captain Blake having thrown a number of shells and rockets into the town, and partially destroyed it, the Merlin was left with King Blay, and Dr Gouldsbury returned to Axim in the Druid. The Beacon remained at Dixcove, and Captain Blake returned to Cape Coast.

It was now reported from several quarters that Akyempon, the chief whose cruelties had made his name notorious throughout the length and breadth of the Coast, was dead, and there seemed no doubt of the truth of the fact. He appears to have been wounded in the side, and to have suffered from consumption, which was aggravated by his wound.

On the 14th November, Commodore Hewett, V.C., arrived at Cape Coast in H.M.S. Active, and hoisted his broad pennant, relieving Captain Fremantle, as senior naval officer on the station. Captain Fremantle had, from the day of Sir Garnet's landing to the time of his being thus relieved, rendered every possible assistance to the Major-General in his difficult task, and the latter requested Commodore Hewett to notify to Captain Fremantle his most cordial thanks for the hearty co-operation and willing zeal with which he had seconded all his wishes during the time that he commanded the squadron at Cape Coast. "But for the assistance," wrote the Major-General, "which he at all times hastened to afford me, it would have been impossible for me to have carried out the recent series of operations which have had so successful results ; and I beg that you will convey to the Lords of the Admiralty my sense of the value of the service which Captain Fremantle has thus rendered." We were all most sorry to lose Captain Fremantle, both as senior

naval officer and as a comrade in the field ; but he was fortunately replaced by one for whom we all soon grew to have an esteem and regard which could not be surpassed.

Nothing of any importance occurred on the windward coast between this time and the end of the year. Several reliefs of vessels were carried out, and the condition of things remained much as already described.

On the 1st December, Captain Bradshaw, of H.M.S. *Encounter*, made a cruise to the windward ports, and returned on the 9th, reporting Ashantis in the neighbourhood of all the forts, and constant skirmishing going on, but no serious engagements. Towards the end of the year, however, the Ashantis in the neighbourhood of King Blay withdrew, and accordingly, the Major-General made application to him, as already reported, for carriers. Following the example of the chiefs and head-men of the villages between Elmina and the Prah, who before the end of November had sent in to sue for peace, all the people along the coast were now beginning to desire alliance with us, as they could no longer have assistance from the Ashantis. As a rule the proposals were accepted ; but those from Ahanta were temporarily declined, pending the punishment of the people of Tacorady and Chamah. To this end arrangements were made for the Eastern Wassaws and Tchufuls to meet the Agoonahs and Aquafoos in the Commendah bush on the 6th December, and march with them to the attack of Chamah. Chief Boakon of Himin also promised to join in the movement, and ammunition was supplied for the purpose. Sergeant Hughes of the Cape Coast Volunteers, who showed himself most indefatigable at this time, was with the disciplined Commendahs to form a nucleus round which this body was to

rally ; but, as usual, anything depending upon natives only could not be carried out within weeks of the time named. The Agoonahs and Aquafoos did reach the Prah about the middle of the month, and there awaited the Wassaws, but the Wassaws did not come. By the 10th December, without waiting for the Wassaws, who evidently would not arrive for a long time, Sergeant Hughes marched with a party of some 600 Commendahts to a place called Croboe, in the Chamah bush on the left bank of the Prah, and sent scouts to the Prah, who found a large force of Chamahs and other natives collected on the other bank. Sergeant Hughes's report is so curious that it is here given entire, as showing native character, and the nature of native warfare when Europeans are not present : "I beg most respectfully to write for your information that I arrived here the day before yesterday. Before I built any hut I sent scouts to the Prah, which is about 200 yards from this place, Croboe. Soon after they left me, I heard firing. I without delay followed them with all the men here to the spot. I found lots of Chamahs, Saprododo people, and others, collected together on one side of the Prah, and I and my men on the other bank. They fought with us, but we beat them, but sorry we could not pursue them ; and I wished we had boats or canoes—we would have burnt the huts. I immediately sent to the Wassaws to bring their canoes. They have not come yet. Yesterday the Chamahs and other tribes came to attack us in the morning in same manner. They have canoes, but could not come to where we are. We again drove them. They called me by name, and said to me that (I may use their words), 'If you eat anything to-morrow morning leave us some ; we shall come to eat at eight o'clock. You are nobody. Why did you not fight the Ashantis



when they came? but you come and fight us to-day.' I replied, 'Because you are the friends of Ashantis; and why did you not go with them?' This morning, at eight o'clock, I went with my men on this side Prah. They came again, and they were the first that fired, and we also fired at them, and they ran away. I asked my men to get me a swimmer to go and burn the villages, but no one to be got. I promised to give him £5 myself, but could not get any. I beg to ask that I may be furnished with a boat, and I shall go there myself to burn the villages. I don't think the Wassaws will come. They promised to come to-day; they have not come; if they don't come to-morrow, I don't think they will ever come. The Chamah ferryman, Imprah, is killed by me. Before I shot him, I called him. I covered myself with cloth belonging to one of my men, and called him by name, 'Aga Imprah, come and cross me; I am an Elmina man; the white man wanted to kill me, and I have come here through the bush, I beg you.' He said to me, 'Don't deceive me.' I said, 'I swear, Bosum Prah, that I am an Elmina man.' He came to me. I asked my men to go in the bush; they did so, while I had my rifle ready loaded; I took hold of his hand, and pulling him to me, he asked me this question, 'Are catching me?' I replied, 'Yes.' He got himself from me and was going back. I threw away the cloth, took my rifle and fired at him. He fell into the water, and I did not see him any more. I got his paddle from him, but did not get the canoe. Some Ashantis among the Chamahs that came to attack us. They have all run away. We want to follow them, but we could not do it on account of the Prah unless with canoes or boats. They have left their villages.

"I want some ammunition for rifles, say about four

boxes, and some gunpowder and lead, and twelve rifles for twelve men who have burst their guns. I also want for myself 100 rounds for my Snider rifle."

On the 22d, as Sergeant Hughes could not follow up his advantage, being unable to cross the river, the Commadore, at Sir Garnet's request, despatched the Encounter and the Merlin to convey ten canoes and fifty natives to his support. By half-past ten on the morning of the 24th December, 635 fighting men under Sergeant Hughes had been conveyed across the river and set fire to Chamah, subsequently engaging in a sharp skirmish with the enemy, which resulted in the flight of the Chamah people. On the morning of the 25th, having burnt and destroyed Chamah and taken fifty canoes, he reported that the Was-saw tribe having failed to form a junction with him, he was not strong enough to cope single-handed with the Chamahs, besides which he could get no food, and his ammunition was running short. Accordingly his men were ferried back across the river to the eastern bank, not, however, without being attacked as they retired. But Sergeant Hughes successfully drove off the enemy, with a loss on his own side of three men killed and two wounded, chiefly from the bursting of their own guns. The Encounter then proceeded to shell the village of Aboadi, to which the Chamahs had proceeded in large numbers; and Chamah having thus been for the third time set on fire, the Encounter and the Merlin returned to Cape Coast Castle. Sergeant Hughes with his men was then sent to Jooquah to form the nucleus of a new force for the invasion of Ashanti.

On the 20th December, Dr Gouldsbury was sent to the windward coast in H.M.S. Argus, with a mission to raise carriers for the force. He was empowered to offer free

pardon to the tribes hitherto hostile, on the condition of their supplying us with carriers in such numbers as he, from his knowledge of the districts, should fix. In the course of a month he raised 1037 carriers, and reported that he had not been able to raise more, having had the proverbial deceit, suspicion, and procrastination of the natives to work against, and also the adverse influence exercised by the Ashantis in portions of the districts where his mission lay. These carriers were chiefly obtained from Adjaah, Dixcove, Secondee, Boutry, and about Axim. When the Major-General returned from Coomassie to Cape Coast, he removed martial law from Elmina, and sent Dr Gouldsbury to effect a complete peace with the tribes on the windward coast.

There remains another point to be mentioned in connection with this early part of the campaign, which has more than a temporary interest—the supply of arms and ammunition to our enemies by the coast traders. The English Protectorate is supposed to end at Assinee, which place may be considered as belonging to the French, although they have no recognised Government official there, and no troops by which to enforce their rule; and the Ashantis have practically free and open communications with Assinee through the old Denkera country, which is now either deserted or belonging to Ashanti. As early as March 1873, the commander of the French ship of war *Curieuse*, had called upon Colonel Harley at Cape Coast, and informed him that large quantities of arms and ammunition were being landed at Assinee for sale to the Ashantis from English vessels, and that one ship had landed no less than 150 cases of muskets and 2000 barrels of powder. Colonel Harley requested him to take steps to prevent the introduction of munitions of war

into this port, but he was of course unable to do so ; and Colonel Harley then addressed to him a letter, asking him, should a blockade be established along the coast-line in our possession, to use his good offices and influences with the King of Assinee to prevent the introduction of ammunition into his territory. As early as the 8th February Colonel Harley had issued a proclamation prohibiting the importation into our settlements and protected territories of all arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, except at the ports of Cape Coast, Elmina, and Accra, and such other ports as might from time to time be licensed by the collector of customs ; and a copy of this proclamation was given to the French officer.

On receipt of Colonel Harley's despatch notifying his communication with the commander of the *Curieuse*, the Colonial Office referred the question to the law officers of the Crown, pointing out that, should the war continue, it might become necessary for the Government to endeavour by legal means to check the importation of arms and ammunition into Assinee or other West African ports, which, like Assinee, lay outside her Majesty's settlements, and could not be affected by any legal British ordinance ; and the law officers were requested to state what steps, by royal proclamation or otherwise, could be properly taken by her Majesty's Government to stop the importation by British subjects or in British vessels of arms and ammunition into Assinee, or any other neighbouring port outside the limits of her Majesty's settlements on the Gold Coast. At the same time Lord Kimberley invited the opinion of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether, on the ground of the common interest of all civilised nations engaged in peaceable commerce with the west coast of Africa, in preventing the

savage attacks of barbarous tribes, such as the Ashantis, on the people with whom European trade is carried on, the French Government might properly be asked to use their influence with the King of Assinee to prevent for the present the introduction into his territory of arms and munitions of war.

In regard to the question put to them, the law officers replied that the Government could not in their opinion take any steps to stop the importation by British subjects, or in British vessels, of arms and ammunition into Assinee, or any other neighbouring port outside the limits of her Majesty's settlements on the Gold Coast, other than to obtain the joint offices of friendly powers to prevent the importation and sale of arms and ammunition into and out of their territory, and to prevent by all means within the power of the local government the sale of arms and ammunition to the Ashantis.

On receipt of this report, Lord Kimberley directed the law officers' attention to the 150th section of the Customs Consolidation Act, under which her Majesty is empowered, by proclamation or order in council, to prohibit the export of ammunition and gunpowder ; and his lordship requested an opinion whether, under that section, her Majesty could prohibit the exportation of arms for any particular ports or places—as, for example, ports on the west coast of Africa, or any particular port or ports on that coast. To this the law officers replied that in their opinion the power of the Crown to prohibit the exportation of arms, ammunition, gunpowder, and other articles under the section in question, is limited to those cases in which the exportation is altogether forbidden.

It was then suggested by Lord Kimberley to the commissioners of customs to issue a general proclamation

against the exportation of arms from the United Kingdom, and to give permits for exportation to any part of the world except ports on the west coast of Africa ; and their opinion was invited as to whether there was any practical objection to this course ; and further, whether there would be any practical objection to vesting in her Majesty the power to prohibit, by proclamation or order in council, the exportation of arms to any particular ports or places specified in such proclamation. Their opinion as to the case generally was further invited, and the opinion of the Board of Trade was also invited upon this question. In the meanwhile, a draft bill was prepared for submission to the law officers, empowering her Majesty to issue such special proclamation.

The commissioners of customs replied at great length ; the substance of their reply being that, so far as the customs were concerned, there did not appear to be any practical objection to either of the courses suggested by Lord Kimberley, and pointing out that a similar course had been pursued on previous occasions. In regard to the issue of a limited proclamation, they remarked upon the difficulty which would be experienced in securing that goods entered for a port not included in the proclamation should not clear out and be discharged at another port from that for which they were declared. The commissioners expressed an opinion, that the only effectual means of stopping an illicit trade was to prevent the landing of the goods at the place objected to ; and they further pointed out why the issuing of a limited proclamation would materially injure the trade of any country included within the terms of the prohibition. The remarks of the commissioners of the customs were forwarded to the law officers, who replied to the following effect : That in

their opinion the enclosed draft bill should not be submitted to Parliament, because, if the provision in that bill became law, her Majesty might, in the event of a war in which Great Britain was neutral, be required by either belligerent to issue the proposed proclamation or order in council. The prohibition, if the request were complied with, would, they considered, introduce a restriction upon the commerce of this country entirely new in international law, and most difficult to carry out. If, on the other hand, the request were not complied with, the refusal would expose the Government of the day and her Majesty to charges of partiality and breach of neutrality. The law officers were unable to suggest any modification which would by its introduction make the proposed bill of use, and not occasion more inconvenience than it would produce advantage. Accordingly the bill was not proceeded with ; and Lord Granville was invited by Lord Kimberley to request the French Government to use their influence with the King of Assinee.

In the mean time, at Cape Coast an order had been issued, known as the "Arms Traffic Ordinance," to empower the Administrator to regulate or prohibit the importation and sale of munitions of war. This ordinance, on being laid before the commissioners of customs, was objected to by them on technical grounds, and was not confirmed by her Majesty. An amended ordinance was, however, immediately passed and confirmed. On the 1st September, the Gold Coast, from Cape Coast to Assinee, was placed in a state of blockade by the usual proclamation, and steps were taken to make the blockade *de facto* effective. But it was known that at this time large quantities of gunpowder and other munitions of war were being disposed of by the barque *Libra* at Assinee ; and on the

30th August Colonel Harley addressed a letter to Messrs Verdier & Cie., agents of the French Government at Assinee and Grand Bassam, informing them of his having established a blockade of the English coast, and inviting their active co-operation and support in preventing supplies of munitions of war from reaching the enemy. On the 2d September the French sloop of war *Bregant*, Captain Mathieu, arrived at Cape Coast; and her commander assured Colonel Harley that he had received instructions from the French Admiral, whom he had just left at the Gaboon, to afford every assistance he possibly could in the matter to her Majesty's Government. He promised to make every exertion with King Amatifou of Assinee to dissuade him from allowing his people to trade with the Ashantis.

Messrs F. & A. Swanzy, the chief traders on this part of the coast, were supposed to be landing arms and ammunition both at Assinee and Grand Bassam; and a good deal of correspondence passed between them and the Government on the subject. At the same time that they were apparently most anxious to give her Majesty's Government an exact account of the manner in which all guns and gunpowder shipped by them since the commencement of the war had been disposed of, and although they repudiated altogether having dealt directly or indirectly in the supply of arms and ammunition to the Ashantis, their ships continued to arrive on the Coast with arms and ammunition on board; and they did not take the one step which would have been alone convincing of their sincerity—namely, to cease to export from England to the west coast any arms or ammunition so long as the war should continue. Several of Messrs Swanzy's ships were detained during the course of the



blockade. On the 25th September Captain Mathieu returned in the Bregant from Grand Bassam and Assinee, and told Colonel Harley that he had visited King Amatifou at Kinjarbo, the trading town on the river, had made him many valuable presents, and hoped that he had succeeded in preventing the further supply of munitions of war through Assinee. He said that the king had closed the roads; and that he, Captain Mathieu, had himself personally forbidden both Messrs Verdier & Cie. and Messrs Swanzy to trade in munitions of war, and that they had promised compliance. Nevertheless, it was established clearly enough that trade did continue in arms and munitions of war with the Ashantis by way of Assinee. The officers of her Majesty's navy acted with vigour, and loud protests were made against the blockade by the traders.

To cut this question short, it will be sufficient to state that, up to the time of our return from Coomassie, the blockade had been effectively established along the whole of our coast-line from the Volta to the so-called French boundary at Assinee, but that we had been unable to prevent the landing of ammunition either at Assinee or at Quittah and Jellah Coffee—points beyond our jurisdiction, and where the Ahwoonahs were able to supply themselves freely. In the month of January Captain Fremantle was sent by Commodore Hewett with the *Barra-couta* to enforce the blockade in the direction of Assinee; and he endeavoured to ascertain what was the real boundary of the French protectorate, being inclined to think that the French settlement at Droco Grove was not really in French territory. The French, however, rested their claim on an agreement as to the boundary between them and the Dutch, and their having used the present settlement at their will since 1848. Monsieur Verdier was quite

unable to show any authority or written document or commission entitling him to act as representative of the French Government; and it appeared that in an official letter to him by the commander of the French sloop *Bregant* he was addressed simply as "Merchant at Assinee." When Captain Fremantle, however, claimed the right to blockade the coast up to the Assinee river, Mons. Verdier disputed this right. Mons. Verdier said that he had been named "porteur du pavillon Français" in the French territory of Assinee, with orders to allow no other flag to be displayed there. Mons. Verdier further disputed the right of Mons. Mathieu, Commandant of the *Bregant*, to give him any orders not to sell this or that kind of merchandise on the coast; and said that, short of a blockade emanating from the French Government, no one had the right to forbid the sale of merchandise or traffic, which had for years been authorised. He also made this remarkable statement: "I supported my refusal by proving to the Commandant Mathieu that if my stores were full of munitions of war, I had this merchandise in store before the war between the Ashantis and the English, and that I had been prevented from selling it by the enormous quantity sold at a lower price by the English before, and more especially since, the declaration of war." At the same time, the supercargo of the French ship *Alcyon* wrote officially to Captain Fremantle, announcing his full intention of selling every kind of merchandise, munitions of war and other. It need scarcely be said that Captain Fremantle abstained from enforcing any blockade upon what was claimed as French territory.

These facts, whether viewed in the light of our inability to prevent our own ships trading in munitions of

war at a French port—although it is certain that these munitions go straight into the hands of our enemy—or in the light of the French merchants' refusal to obey the order of their own naval authorities to refrain from selling munitions of war in French territory, seem to argue that some amendment in the law on these matters is necessary. Before leaving Cape Coast, Sir Garnet Wolseley had recommended to her Majesty's Government that, as the best way of putting a stop to the incessant wars in which so many thousands are yearly slain, which destroy all rest, which interfere with commerce, and prevent all hope of civilisation throughout the length and breadth of Western Africa, an agreement should be come to between all the European powers to forbid positively the importation of arms and munitions of war into the western coast.

## CHAPTER VIII.

PACIFICATION OF THE TRIBES ON THE WINDWARD COAST—COMPLETION OF THE TREATY WITH THE KING OF ASHANTI—PETITIONS MADE BY THE KING—NOTES ON FANTI CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS—THE KING OF ASHANTI, HIS PERSONAL HABITS, FAMILY, AND COUNCIL—FETISH—HUMAN SACRIFICES—CLIMATE OF THE GOLD COAST—STATISTICS OF THE EXPEDITION—REMARKS AS TO FUTURE POLICY.

BEFORE leaving the Gold Coast, Sir Garnet Wolsley had taken the necessary steps for the arrangement of four important affairs : first, the pacification of the various tribes on the windward coast ; secondly, the conclusion of a treaty with the Ahwoonahs and Aquamoos ; thirdly, the garrisoning of posts at Prahsu and Mansu by troops indigenous to the Coast ; and fourthly, the completion of the treaty with the King of Ashanti.

Dr Gouldsbury's mission to the windward coast was extremely successful. He first persuaded King Blay to give up his old feud with King Amakie, and then proceeded to King Amakie's town and induced him to hold an interview with King Blay. On the 15th of March, these two hostile kings, whose old feud had probably to a great extent been the cause of King Amakie's casting in his lot with the Ashantis, met in state, shook hands, and agreed that all hostility between them should for ever cease. Dr Gouldsbury then proceeded westward to the

last town in the British Protectorate, and succeeded in arresting a threatened invasion of King Amakie's territory by the King of Assinee. He then held meetings of the chiefs round Axim, Dixcove, Secondee, Tacorady, and Chamah, obtained from them all the most complete and loyal submission, arranged that they should restore to each other any prisoners whom they had captured, and for the thorough opening of the entire road along the coast. The King of Chamah reported that there were some twelve Ashantis remaining in his district, whom he was desirous of handing over to the British Government in order to get rid of them ; but, with this exception, Dr Gouldsbury believed that at the end of March there was not an Ashanti left in the windward district. He imposed fines upon those kings and chiefs who had rebelled against the British, and received promises from the chiefs whose towns had been bombarded and burnt, that in rebuilding them they would construct them on better principles, and build better houses. Many of the chiefs asked with apparent eagerness that schools should be established in their towns.

In summing up a very able report of his proceedings, Dr Gouldsbury expressed his conviction in regard to these people as follows : " They are," he said, " a peace-loving people. It was not dislike of our rule or hatred of our flag that induced the tribes to revolt, but those who did so were impelled thereto by hereditary fear of the Ashantis, and a conviction of the superiority of the Ashanti power over that of England. However," he added, " the success of the recent expedition to Coomassie has dispelled these illusions."

Mr Goldsworthy proceeded to the Volta, but did not succeed in communicating with the Ahwoonahs and Aqua-

moos, and returned to England on leave of absence. Colonel Maxwell then instructed Dr Rowe to endeavour to make peace with those tribes, on the terms of the draft treaties drawn up by Sir Garnet Wolseley. It was not known at the Colonial Office at the time of this chapter going to press, whether or not he had been successful, though it had been reported that the Aquamoos were desirous of giving in their submission.

Colonel Maxwell had withdrawn to the coast all the West Indian troops, except the garrisons of Prahsu and Mansu. The 2d West India Regiment embarked for the West Indies in the Nebraska, and the 1st West India Regiment remains on the coast. On the 24th March, Colonel Maxwell wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, saying that sickness had increased to such an extent among the troops up country, especially among the European officers and non-commissioned officers, that he was making immediate arrangements to replace these troops by Houssas, in accordance with the opinion expressed in Sir Garnet Wolseley's memorandum.

On the 13th of March a son of the King of Ashanti, Koffee Intin by name, together with a number of officials of the court, and a representative from every tribe comprising the Ashanti kingdom, arrived as an embassy at Cape Coast, and presented the treaty which had been sent from Fommanah by Sir Garnet Wolseley, with two crosses at the foot, which they asserted were the king's marks in token of assent to its terms. They stated, however, that the king believed the amount of the indemnity to be 5000 benders, equal to 10,000 ounces of gold. It was explained to them that the indemnity was 50,000 ounces, and they were desired by Colonel Maxwell under these circumstances to withdraw and consult, so that there might

be no possibility of future mistake as to the terms of the treaty. On the third day from their arrival they were again seen by his Excellency, when the treaty in its entirety was cordially subscribed by all the chief members of the embassy in token of its acceptance by the king. The treaty was signed on behalf of the King of Coomassie by Prince Koffee Intin, Quaman Inkwe, chief captain, one linguist, one fetish-man, three sword-bearers, one court crier, and one captain. It was also signed on behalf of the following kings as under :—

Juabin, one linguist ; Becqua, one sword-bearer ; Kokofoo, one linguist ; Inkutanassie, one sword-bearer ; Insuta, one sword-bearer ; Mampon, one sword-bearer ; Ardakanjah, one linguist ; Assarful, one gold-keeper ; Ackiramadie, one sword-bearer ; Sawoorah, one captain ; Acrofoom, one captain.

It was then signed on behalf of her Majesty the Queen by Colonel Maxwell. The treaty having been thus signed, and all its terms consented to, the embassy, on behalf of the king, made the following petitions and statements :—

First, they petitioned that the stipend formerly paid by the Dutch should be continued by her Majesty's Government. Secondly, they petitioned that the King of Adansi be obliged to return to his allegiance to Ashanti, he having, with Sir Garnet Wolseley's permission, joined the King of Denkera, who is independent of Ashanti, and in the Protectorate. Thirdly, they stated that the King of Eastern Akim had taken by force a number of hostages from towns belonging to Ashanti, and was still keeping them in Akim, and that he had persuaded them to throw off their allegiance to Ashanti, and become subjects of Akim. The embassy therefore petitioned that the King of Akim be directed to give up these people.

Fourthly, with regard to the abolition of human sacrifices, the king promised to do what was required of him ; but requested that he might be permitted, on the occasion of the death of any great chiefs, to sacrifice two or three lives. This, he said, had been the custom from the beginning of the kingdom, and if there were no sacrifice in such cases, the people would think the nation was going down. Fifthly, the embassy, in the king's name, presented the king's son, Prince Koffee Intin, to the British Government, in token of confidence, requesting that he might be sent to England to be educated.

These petitions and requests were sent home for the consideration of her Majesty's Government. At the same time, another message was received through a fresh embassy from the king, to the effect that the Kings of Eastern and Western Akim had compelled the people of certain Ashanti towns to throw off their allegiance, and migrate ; and that the King of Eastern Akim had taken hostages from the King of Juabin to insure his revolting from the Ashanti kingdom. The king begged the Governor to put a stop to these actions on the part of the Akims ; and Colonel Maxwell wrote, forbidding the Kings of Akim to interfere further in the Ashanti kingdom ; but at the same time expressed to the Home Government the difficulty which he experienced in deciding how far it was right to forbid the migration of any people who might wish to leave the tyrannical and bloodthirsty rule of Ashanti, and live under the peaceable government of the protected tribes.

Colonel Maxwell's health speedily broke down. He sailed early in April for England, and died on the passage home. He was temporarily succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston of the 1st West India Regiment, but



only for a few days, as a commission appointing Captain Lees Administrator of the Government of the Gold Coast was sent out within a few days of Sir Garnet Wolseley's arrival in England.

The manners and customs of the Fantis will probably be treated fully by other writers, who during the progress of the late war had no military duties, and had consequently ample opportunity for observation. We will not, therefore, here enter into detail on matters open to all observers.

The Fantis, and indeed all the tribes lying between Ashanti and the coast, are physically a fine race. The Fanti boys are intelligent, active, and not destitute of courage. Each officer of the headquarter staff had one of these boys as a servant. They never showed the slightest hesitation about accompanying us under fire, were cool, and apparently enjoyed the fun of the fighting as much as English boys would have done. Captain Buller's boy "Philemon," the writer's boy "Bob," Colonel Greaves's boy "Tea," Mr Wood's boy "Cocoa," Major Baker's boy "Coffee," and the pet boy of the Naval Brigade, "Mixed Pickles, Esq.," were all at times in the thick of the fight, and never showed the slightest appearance of fear. This is an example of the moral effect produced on them by personal influence. Major Baker's boy Coffee, a very sharp and impudent young rascal, had not been so plucky under other leadership. He used to narrate to us with great glee how he was present with his father at the battle of Dunquah in April 1873.

"What were you doing there with your father, Coffee?"

"I carry his ammunition."

"And what did your father do?"

"He run away."

"And what did you do, Coffee?"

"I run away, too."

"What did you do with the ammunition?"

"I throw him away."

All this with the most natural air in the world, as if it was nothing to be ashamed of.

These boys have great powers of standing fatigue; this little fat imp would for days march twenty miles a-day, and do his master's work in addition. But as soon as the boy grows into a man his courage seems to dwindle away, his energy to disappear, and his only remaining idea to be how he can best spare himself all fatigue and danger.

As a rule, the chiefs professed that they and their people were brave, but at times they were honest enough to own the contrary. The kings of Assin said frankly to Colonel Wood, when he was complaining to them of the cowardice of their people, "that their hearts were not big enough to fight as white men fight." This one bad quality, cowardice, essentially condemns these people in the eyes of Englishmen; and yet they are not destitute of courage at times when personal influence can be sufficiently exerted over them, and some few of them are individually brave. The Elmina chiefs, and their followers who accompanied us, the King of Annamaboe and some of his men, some of the Assin scouts, the King of Eastern Akim with Captain Glover, and some of our own carriers, showed courage enough. If disciplined, and brought under the immediate influence of white men, it is probable that in a generation something might be done to eradicate this element of cowardice from the nature of the people.

They have other wonderfully good qualities ; it is an extraordinary fact that when the carriers were deserting by thousands, they never deserted with their loads. During the early part of our operations hundreds of loads were sent in large convoys with little or no supervision, and seldom or never was a load lost, though at any moment any of the carriers might have slipped into the bush and escaped.

Though the unmanly qualities of the men made us heartily despise them, we found the women admirable in their conduct. As Sir Garnet Wolseley said in his speech at the Mansion House, seeing these characteristics of the two sexes, it was not to be wondered at that the King of Dahomey keeps up a corps of Amazons. The women have none of the indolence and cowardice of the men ; they are bright, cheerful, and hard-working, and we got excellent service willingly performed by them. At one time the women of Cape Coast and of Annamaboe were carrying loads to Dunquah and Mansu, and the work was done punctually and well. They were most amenable to discipline, and seemed to possess the instinct of order. They possessed wonderful strength ; and it was no uncommon sight to see a woman carrying a load of ammunition or box of rice on her head weighing between 50 lb. and 60 lb., with a child of two years old carried on the hump which they wear behind. The women are not beautiful, though sometimes, when they are quite young, there is a brightness in their look that makes up for lack of good features. Our little friend who gave us the first news of the evacuation of Mampon was good-looking in her way. So, too, was that poor Commendah girl who so barely escaped with her life at Abrakrampa.

The children are good-looking, simply because they are children and have bright eyes. A woman counts her age by the number of children she has had. When Abraba Bosuma was asked her age, she replied, "I have bred once," by which we knew that she was probably between seventeen and eighteen years old.

When a Fanti girl arrives at a marriageable age she decks her person with all the gold ornaments that she can borrow from her friends, paints herself delicately with white stripes on the face and arms, and with bare bosom, and often a broom in hand to drive away the evil spirits, exhibits herself in the streets in token that she is desirous of finding a husband. We saw many girls thus decorated at Cape Coast, and it appears that ceremonies are performed on the attainment of marriageable age by these young girls much resembling certain rites performed by the Jews. These ceremonies, however, being considered highly improper by the missionaries, have been put a stop to, at all events as regards their open performance, at Cape Coast. Once married, either as a real wife of a native, or the country wife of a European merchant, a Fanti woman is bound to be chaste; and the laws of the country have heavy penalties for the man who leads a woman astray from her conjugal duties. Indeed, scandal relates that both in Ashanti and among the Coast tribes, some of the chiefs make a handsome income out of the penalties exacted from the lovers of unfaithful wives whom they keep as decoys. The marriage ceremony appears to be simple. The husband purchases his wife by payment of dower to her parents, and she can obtain her liberty at any time by repayment of the dower. Thus divorce is practically obtainable at any time by the women; and so great is the value of women for work, that the husband would never

have any difficulty in getting a woman off his hands, should he on his side be desirous of separating from her. Nor does there exist that difficulty in regard to children which proves so serious an obstacle as regards divorce in civilised countries. Every child has its market value for purposes of labour. A child may be bought and sold like any other article ; and in a country where land is superabundant, where any piece of ground that is cleared will yield to the labourer who clears it several crops a-year without further trouble than the mere first planting, it will be understood how great the value of labour, and consequently of women and children, must be. The master possessing even two or three slaves, and one or two wives, can be idle himself from year's end to year's end ; while his firewood is brought from the forest, his food from the nearest plantain-ground, and his drink from the nearest stream, by the women and slaves who minister to all his requirements.

The institution of domestic slavery is completely recognised in the British Protectorate. An English magistrate, salaried by the Home Government, sits as Judicial Assessor in court with the native chiefs, to administer law according to the native customs, and restores a runaway slave to his or her master. This is a strange and anomalous condition of things, and is one of the many difficulties which has to be grappled with in future dealings with the Gold Coast. So far as the writer could judge, the institution of domestic slavery as it exists on the Gold Coast is absolutely without horrors of any kind. The slaves have to work, but even that, apparently, to no very severe amount. Punishments appear to be light, and consist chiefly of reduction of the allowance of food, flogging, and putting the slave in log ; they are rarely resorted to, and

as a rule the slaves would be unwilling to accept their freedom. The Houssas on the Coast are all slaves; and Captain Glover's greatest difficulty in obtaining them consisted in the unwillingness of their masters to give them up. They were placed in log, that they might not escape to enlist, and eventually he was obliged to pay £5 apiece for his recruits. A large number of the slaves possessed by the Coast tribes have been sold to them by the Ashantis, whose chief trade is in this commodity, for which they obtain gold and Manchester goods in exchange.

The religion of the Fantis and other Coast tribes is fetishism pure and simple. At Cape Coast itself, boasting its Colonial Chaplain, Episcopal Church, and Church of England schools, as well as its Wesleyan Mission, and Mission-House schools and church, the fetish-house and fetish-tree reign supreme in the market-place. The Wesleyan Mission is apparently the only one which has gained any footing about Cape Coast; not only has it a large and flourishing mission in Cape Coast itself, but in many of the villages even as far north as near Mansu, its churches and its missions existed before the war. What influence the professors of Christianity have gained upon the hearts of the people, and whether they have really done any work of advantage, the writer had no fair opportunity of judging. That they had taught English to a certain number of the population, there can be no doubt; but that may have only given them another language in which to lie and cheat. That they have induced a number of the native women to abandon their graceful single robe, showing the bare breasts, and leaving the figure in its natural freedom, in favour of European gowns, and bonnets, and parasols, is a most conspicuous fact, but one

of which the advantage is, to say the least, doubtful. That legitimate marriages have become more frequent in place of the native marriages admitting of several wives, is also evident ; but how far this really tends either to the advantage of the country or to the chastity of its men and women is a question open to argument. If the Christian teaching has really been successful in producing a higher tone of honour and morality, and in inculcating the finer virtues upon this people, then it has indeed borne good fruit ; but we were obliged to take the nation too much *en gros* to be able to appreciate the individual details. So far as we could judge from the specimens of native Christians sent to us from Sierra Leone, the missionary work had not been a success. A Sierra Leone native is great at going to church, and has his mouth full of sacred quotations, but he is generally as specious a knave as ever breathed. The Basle Mission, which has its chief station at Akropong, in the Aquapim hills, appears to have done some really good work. Captain Glover's testimony to the behaviour of the native Christians under his command, is one that says much for these devoted missionaries. But this Mission is in reality a large trading establishment, and it combines the teaching of industrial habits and honest labour, with inculcation of the Christian virtues, and the principles of the Christian religion. Any attempt to teach these natives doctrine and dogma, without an example to prove to them the actual practical advantage of these doctrines as regards life in this world, must be a complete failure.

The Fantis have no arts, and no manufactures except an imitative workmanship in gold, a very small amount of weaving, a little rough basket-work, and a very coarse description of pottery. Absolutely they have no idea of

pictorial design ; the rude scroll-work which ornaments some of their houses representing no animate or inanimate object. We never saw even the roughest attempt at picture or sculpture. Weaving even is but little pursued by them ; and their pottery is of the coarsest and most inferior description, the only ornaments being rough lines and curves ; never the imitation of natural objects.

The following description by Lieutenant Cooper of the country lying east of the main road, visited by him with Colonel Colley in January, may be considered of interest :—

“ With the exception of one other, I believe our party were the first Europeans in the Agoonah country for many a long day, even had any been there before. Leaving Dunquah after passing the Amissa river, we entered a country evidently at rest. In most villages the men were not forthcoming, either being with the army or else in hiding to avoid being sent to the camps. But the houses bore signs of recent habitation, and nearly always we succeeded in catching the women and children at home. I judged that the country had not been exposed to war for some years, from the very old age of the skulls placed round the fetish-trees, which were used as the rallying-points of the villagers, and consequently where their war-like trophies were deposited. The houses also looked of some standing ; but you know that is scarcely a criterion of age in the tropics, where mud huts soon acquire a venerable look. The houses were substantially built of mud and water, with thatched roofs.

“ They usually consisted of three or four rooms, facing inwards on a court. The rooms were without windows, and the fourth side was open to the court, above which they were generally raised a couple of feet. The floors



were plastered with a red composition which hardened in the sun, and could easily be kept clean by sweeping.

“The rough nails in our boots were very destructive to their floors, but the damage could easily be repaired. In most of the houses there were capital bedsteads of split bamboo ; but where these could not be obtained we suffered no discomfort from spreading our blankets on the floor. This was rather a matter of surprise to us, as we always previously had an idea that savages’ dwellings were not particularly clean. However, I don’t once remember being inconvenienced by insects, and that is saying a great deal, considering we almost always rested in native dwellings. Their cooking utensils were simple enough, the earthenware jar generally answering every purpose. Their jars were of very bad materials. In almost every village there was a pottery, and judging from the number of earthen jars, the consumption must be considerable. We could generally find large wooden platters, which made capital washing-basins ; but in the larger villages there were some good brass basins. I could not find where these came from. Some of the largest, I should imagine, were European, but others were curiously marked with fish, and other strange figures.

“Some of the little brass pots they had for holding fetish ointments or medicines were really worth carrying away, but the natives would not part with them ; and as by a fiction these blacks were supposed to be ‘our noble allies,’ we could not take their personal belongings. The cleanliness shown in their houses appeared to extend to the natives themselves ; they were always washing, making use of a black mud they called Fanti soap. In the Adjumacoe country there were a few houses with an upper story, but these were few and far between, and had been built

by men who had been to the coast and seen the stores of the merchants or missionary houses. At Essicoomah and Odobbin the houses had some pretence to ornament. Curves seemed to be the chief decoration, very much as represented in the 'Illustrated London News' pictures of Ashanti houses. At Insaban, the capital of the Agoonah country, the streets were very wide, but the place had an untidy look, and the palace was a miserable building, almost falling to ruins. Onyacroom, a few miles off, was a much finer place. It really consisted of two villages, separated by a stream. Here was the only clearing I saw from the time I left Dunquah till we reached Mansu. Of course we came across farms, as the country gardens are called, but these appeared to have been made where some forest monarch had been thrown down by the hurricane, and the natives had only cleared away the bush and tangled creepers from the fallen tree. But this clearing at Onyacroom, running from the centre of the village down the side of a slight elevation to the stream, was really cut, and the bush being fairly exposed, one had a chance of seeing what grand trees there were in it. I do not think the Fantis had any saws; all the woodwork I came across seemed to have been cut: the large trees were hacked; and some of the dug-outs, which made first-rate canoes, were evidently finished by a gouge of some kind. The costumes were similar to those of the Coast Fantis. Food was plentiful—plantains, cocoa-nuts, goats, and small chickens, being readily found in every village. Altogether, this glimpse of real African life left a very pleasing impression of native civilisation, when it had not been contaminated by mixture with European manners and customs."

The Fantis, as we have already seen, have no supreme

government. It is probable that they never had a king, and that the only government which they ever acknowledged was that of their fetish-priests, who ruled in the name of Nananon, their supposed gods or great ancestors, who alone had decision in life and death. Broken up as they now are into a number of petty tribes (as shown in the map accompanying this volume), there is no unity or homogeneity among them. Great jealousy exists amongst these tribes against each other; and, to make confusion worse confounded, there are kingdoms within kingdoms, and sometimes two kings to each, desperately jealous of each other—like Quabina Fuah and Coffee Ahencora of Western Akim. Hence any real combination among the Fantis for government either in peace or war is practically out of the question. Moreover, the kings openly acknowledge their inability to govern their people. That hold which they once had by means of summary execution has been taken away from them by the British Government; and the preceding chapters have disclosed their complete inability even to assemble the men of their own tribes. (Sec App. p. 361.)

In a very interesting account published in the 'Times' of July 29th, 1873, from the statement of Prince Ossoo Ansah, uncle of the present king, will be found some remarkable information regarding the king and Coomassie, to which the writer will only add here a few remarks, chiefly derived from conversations with Messrs Kuehne, Ramseyer, and Bonnat.

The king is a man of middle age, and of considerable intelligence, but very much in the hands of his chiefs, his counsellors, and the fetish-men. He takes great interest in politics and the affairs of the nation, but no one is

allowed to tell him any bad news ; the only persons from whom he ever hears the truth being the head chiefs of the king's Krah. So far as could be learnt from the missionaries, the nominal duty of the persons composing the king's Krah is to worship the king's soul. The two chief men of the king's Krah are Boosumru Tia and Boosumru Djira. The former of these is an old man, peaceably inclined ; the latter young and hot-headed. They are the king's chief private counsellors and advisers.

The king's mother, Ahima, a niece of the late King Quaku Duah, is said to have considerable influence with him ; and all the missionaries united in saying that she was opposed to war. She is married, and lives with her husband—a chief, having from 200 to 300 followers—in a house near the palace. She is about fifty-five years of age, but looks younger. She appears in public at all great customs, when, handsomely dressed in silk, she walks with many followers, or sometimes is carried in a basket. She is always followed by slaves carrying large silk or velvet fans, which are for women at Coomassie the same symbols of dignity as umbrellas for men. Women have no state umbrellas.

Prince Mensah, the king's brother and heir, is the person of most importance in the realm next to the king. The son of the King of Coomassie is never his heir. The throne is always inherited through a female, passing either to the king's brother or to his nephew (his sister's child), there being thus an absolute certainty that the reigning king has the royal blood in his veins. The king has two sisters and several nephews ; they do not live in the palace, their position not being considered so high as that of Prince Mensah. The king maintains them. Bar-empa, a brother of Prince Ansah, has married one sister ;

and a chief, Quasi Djamibi, the other. The son of the eldest sister would succeed Prince Mensah.

The following, according to M. Kuehne, are the members of the king's general council: 1. Boachi Tintsin, Ahima's second husband, and therefore stepfather to the king; he is also chief linguist: 2. Opoku: 3. Nantwi: 4. Appia. These latter three are all linguists,\* and act as the king's mouthpieces, advisers, and counsellors. On any occasion of an interview with a king—as, for example, with the King of Adansi at Fommanah—the linguists speak in the king's name, while the king himself sits in state. Next on the king's council comes Amanquatia, the keeper of Bantama, the royal mausoleum; then Assarfoo Boachi, a general of royal blood; Barempa, Prince Ansah's brother, and husband of the queen's sister; then Quasi Doomfie, a general of great distinction; then Agyapon, the general who commanded the king's forces in the Crepee expedition; then Akyempon, who was the lord-steward, and who remained in the palace if the king went out—but he, as we know, is dead; then Boosumru Tia and Boosumru Djira, of whom we have already spoken,—and sundry others, amongst whom may be mentioned Quantah Bissa, the chief of the sword-bearers, Eggia Kissa, the chief executioner, and Essaman Quantah, whom we have already called the Moltke of the Ashantis.

The great chiefs of the realm are, first of all, the Chief of Kokoofoo, who is of royal blood, and whom at Yam custom the king honours with a visit—a distinction paid to no other chief; then the King or Prince of Juabin, who stands next to the Prince of Kokoofoo; then the King

\* It will be observed that, in addition to these, some of the letters from the king were signed by Quabina Ampuensa and Coffee Owoosoo, who also sign as linguists.

or Prince of Mampon, Minister of War of the realm ; then the Chiefs of Becquah, Insutah, and Adansi, the latter being of lesser importance. The King of Mampon has much influence with the king, and was said to have been especially in favour of peace at the time we were invading Ashanti. The present Chief of Kokofoo is a very old man and deaf—too old to go to war himself.

It will be seen from the first chapter of this book, how, on the discussion of any very great matter, the king has assembled in council around him all these chiefs and princes.

Besides reigning over all these tributary principalities or kingdoms, the king rules directly over that province of which Coomassie is the capital—a province to which Mr Ramseyer gave the name of Achumah, and which he said extended as far south as the boundary of the Adansi kingdom.

Of the king's personal habits we could learn but little ; he was said by the missionaries to turn day into night, sleeping much during the day, and sitting up transacting business through the night. The missionaries had frequently been sent for by him at night. Mr Kuehne told us that very often in the small hours the king plays "ket-tah," when his wives sing and relate to him the stories of the deeds of his ancestors. At such a time the king will drink palm-wine and gin, and grow excited with the spirits and the tales that are sung to him—how such-and-such an ancestor was a great man, having killed so many slaves at every custom. Then the king will rise and send for his ancestor's stool, and wash it in the blood of two or three human victims. Mr Kuehne related how, for many nights after their arrival at Coomassie, he and the other Europeans could not sleep, always listening for the taps

on the death-drum, which they knew betokened the slaughter of a victim ; and how every night, once, or more than once, they heard this horrible sound, till at last their ears became accustomed to it, and it troubled them no more. The king, too, plays much with his cats, of which he has a considerable number—not so many, however, as wives, of whom he has several hundreds, one particularly being a great favourite, and having borne him one child.

The king appears to be much in the hands of his fetish-priests, and almost every act is in some way or other connected with fetishism. The word “Boosum” which we have so often met with—as in the Boosum Prah, Boosum Echuy, and the Boosumrus, chiefs of the king’s Krah—appears to signify “sacred to the fetish.” Lake Boosum Echuy, for example, is thus sacred, and the words are said to mean “the fetish of the white man.” On account of the sacred character of this lake, it is forbidden to go upon it in boats, or to cross it. A regular portion of the lake is told off to the king, Prince Mensah, the queen-mother, and each great chief, and fish is brought to them from it every day ; but the fishing must be done from wooden boards or from the shore, no boats being allowed.

Apparently, however, that which is most sacred in all Ashanti is the king’s mausoleum at Bantama. Mr Ramseyer told us that it is so sacred, that even if a bit of the roof falls down, slaves are sacrificed ; and no one is allowed to approach it, even for purposes of repair, excepting those belonging to the king’s Krah. Prince Ansah, being of royal blood, was once allowed to see it. In the Bantama every dead king has his small room hung round with clothes and velvets, and his skeleton is placed in a chair or a basket, food being cooked for it daily. Sir Charles Macarthy’s skull is said to be at the Bantama, but

this report rests upon slight foundation. Mr Ramseyer said that at every great Yam custom, all the skulls of enemies taken in war are brought into Coomassie, those of great men being placed in brass pans. Only reigning kings are buried at Bantama. When a king dies, he is first buried in Coomassie. At the expiration of one year his bones are taken and cleaned, and the skeleton is re-formed with gold. He is then taken to Bantama. Mons. Bonnat had heard that there were only from seven to nine skeletons in Bantama. Great chiefs when they die are thrown into 'the Soubang stream, which is sacred, and whose water is not drunk,—water being obtained from holes dug round the town till white clay is reached, when good water appears. At every Adai custom the king goes with all his wives and household to wash in the Soubang, in which there is a feeble current, probably arising from springs.

It appears that the fetish-priests become such by hereditary descent, or by being taught the business. There are both men and women, and they marry and have children, whom they bring up as fetish-men—a peculiar method of wearing their hair being their distinguishing characteristic. Quasi Doomfie is the head of the fetish-men.

The worship of fetish consists in blind obedience to the fetish-priests, and holding sacred anything which they pronounce to be fetish. So far as we gathered from the missionaries, and also from our own observation in the palace at Coomassie, much of the fetish-preparations consists of rotten eggs, of which several basins full were found in the palace, their careful wrapping up having caused us to hope for some specially valuable treasure. But it is seldom that the fetish-priests content themselves with such simple sacrifices as eggs. Sheep are frequently



sacrificed. Mr Kuehne, on his journey from Coomassie to the Prah, found a living sheep sacrificed by being pinned to a tree, there to die of starvation. This was fetish to keep off the invasion. The king had probably told the fetish-men to go and make fetish to keep off the white man's invasion; and the various fetishes already described, as found by Lord Gifford in the advance to Fommanah, were all made with this purpose, including the horrible mutilation and impaling of a man between Quisah and Fommanah. Whatever the fetish-priests order to be done, the king will do. Sometimes they will say that a child must be sacrificed, and it is done; sometimes it is a larger sacrifice than that.

Mr Ramseyer told us that there are Moors in Coomassie, who know how to write the Arabic character, but who are unable to read or to write more than the letters. On one occasion he had shown an Arabic grammar to some of them, who admitted that they could not read. The business of these Moors, whose religion appears to be a strange mixture of Mohammedanism and fetishism, is to get money from the king for charms and incantations. Some of them are red-faced; they have wives and slaves; and Mr Ramseyer had heard that they had a place where they met for religious purposes every five days, but he had never seen it. Sometimes they pray out loud in the streets; but they were much abused by the people when the last expedition across the Prah, which they had counselled, turned out so badly. Even at the time of our advance they were trying to deceive the king, saying that they had brought the white men in order that the king might get all their provisions and goods; and they had advised the king to flay a man alive in order to insure success. Owoosoo Koko, Mr Ramseyer said, was one of

their greatest opponents, and accused them of being the cause of the war.

It is probably known to most of the readers of this book that at one time a mission was established at Coomassie under Mr Freeman ; and it appears that the missionaries had succeeded in impressing a prince of the royal blood, Prince Farini Opoko, with the desire to become a Christian, and that he had learned secretly to read and to write. Suddenly he disappeared. He was said to have been transported by the king ; but Mr Ramseyer believed that he had been killed by the people, excited thereto by the fetish-priests, because he had said that he could no longer live amongst the atrocities which were committed at Coomassie. The German captives had obtained the king's nominal permission to set up a school, but the attendance of boys, which had begun favourably, ceased. The king was said to have hindered the boys from attending school. He denied having done so ; " but," said Mr Ramseyer, " he is a liar, as the Ashantis generally are." Mr Ramseyer had been allowed to preach in the streets, and he often told the people that the fetish-men were no good, and that they should pray for themselves ; but the great hindrance to Christianity making any progress in Coomassie was fear of the king, who was unwilling that his people should learn, saying that if they became educated he would lose his power over them. Prince Ansah had come under this category. Mr Ramseyer said the king would like to have Prince Ansah with him now that our approach was so imminent, though he had been badly treated when previously sent to Coomassie by Mr Ussher, having been sent away with fewer presents than he had brought.

The most noteworthy superstitions in Ashanti are con-

nected with the Adai days. The great Adai is always a Sunday, and the small Adai is always a Wednesday. The lucky and unlucky days are reckoned as follows : On Adai Wednesday the king gives presents—this is a lucky day ; the tenth day afterwards, the following Friday week, is an unlucky day, and no one as a rule goes out. On the thirteenth day, Adim Monday, the king drinks palm-wine in public, and is saluted by the people. He then remains at home, and does not go out till the great Adai on the following Sunday, eighteen days after the Adai Wednesday. On this great Adai, the chief fetish-men come to the palace in the morning, bringing a quantity of brass pans with fetish-compounds in them, and offer sacrifices consisting of gin, eggs, sheep's blood, &c. Then the king goes to the burial-grounds of the princes, of which there are several in Coomassie, and returning, again gives presents to the people ; after which he goes to Bantama with all his chiefs, offers sheep and gin, and other sacrifices, and returns to the palace. Eleven days after the great Adai Sunday, comes Adim Thursday, an unlucky day ; and twenty-four days after the Adai Sunday comes again the small Adai Wednesday. From the small Adai (Wednesday) to the great Adai (Sunday) is always eighteen days ; from the great Adai to the small Adai twenty-four days. The 25th January 1874 was the last great Adai before our entry into Coomassie. At the great Adai the European captives had always received a present of twenty-eight dollars from the king, barely enough to keep the three men, the lady and her child, alive on plantains and dried snails for the six weeks the sum had to last. Now and then a bullock was sent them as a present by the king, which they killed and dried.

Mr Ramseyer told us that the effect of the constant

wars and of the king's sacrifices had been most lamentable. The population of Coomassie was rapidly diminishing, and grass was growing in the streets. The people were afraid to live in the town lest they should be killed, and preferred migrating to the villages. This, however, was difficult, as there is a very rigid police discipline in Coomassie. After nightfall no one is allowed to leave the town, the police, whom we ourselves saw, distinguished by their long hair, going about the streets armed. Before the war the king had ordered improvements to be made in the building of the houses ; but now, since the war, the buildings of his own palace were falling down, and he was unable to get them repaired.

The horrible human sacrifices evidently caused terror in the hearts of the people. Our principal medical officer, Dr Mackinnon, was quartered at Coomassie in the house of the king's executioner, who paid him a visit on the night of our arrival, and told him that every day he killed two or three people ; that he thought he killed at least a thousand a-year, and that the number which he had killed in the week preceding our arrival was so great that he could not tell how many victims he had slain. Whenever a great chief dies, a hecatomb of human sacrifices is offered to the fetish ; whenever a prince of the royal blood dies, all the princes have the right to slaughter every human being that they can see ; and sallying out with their armed followers, they shoot down those who attempt to escape. Is it possible to imagine a more horrible condition of life, or a government which it is more desirable to break up and destroy ?

The climate of the Gold Coast has been repeatedly spoken of in this work, and its effect upon the health of

the troops at various times has been stated in general terms. More detailed statistics will be found in the following summary and tables, for which the writer is indebted to Surgeon-Major Mackinnon, C.B., the principal medical officer of the expedition. The tables were compiled by Dr Sandford Moore, the officer in charge of the statistical department.

#### ASHANTI EXPEDITION, 1873-74.

A force consisting of *three European Regiments* (23d Regiment, 270 non-commissioned officers and men ; 42d, 656 non-commissioned officers and men ; and Rifle Brigade, 652 non-commissioned officers and men); *the Naval Brigade* (250 non-commissioned officers and men) ; and *1st West India Regiment* (552 non-commissioned officers and men),—landed at Cape Coast Castle, and took part in the operations against the Ashantis in January and February 1874.

*The 2d West India Regiment, Wood's Regiment, Russell's Regiment, and Rait's Artillery*, took the field in October 1873, soon after the Major-General commanding, and continued on active service up to the end of the month of February 1874.

The following statistics relate to the above periods respectively :—

(a) *Health of three European Regiments* (1578 strength).—In this force of 1578 non-commissioned officers and men, 71 per cent of sickness took place. 59 per cent of this sickness was due to fevers (principally malarial), 13 per cent to dysentery and diarrhoea, and 28 per cent to diseases other than these.

The mortality in this force, including men killed in action, amounted to 1 per cent; the numbers invalided to England, 43 per cent.

The 23d Regiment gave the greatest proportionate amount of sickness, the Rifle Brigade next, and the 42d Regiment least.

The greatest amount of mortality appeared in the 42d Regiment (chiefly due to gunshot wounds); the Rifle Brigade next; in the 23d Regiment no casualties occurred.

(b) *Health of Naval Brigade* (250 strength).—In this force of 250 non-commissioned officers and men, 95 per cent of sickness occurred. 56 per cent of this sickness was due to fevers (principally malarial), 36 per cent to dysentery and diarrhoea, and 8 per cent to diseases other than these.

The mortality amounted to 2 per cent, while the numbers invalided to England amounted to 39 per cent of strength.

(c) *Health of 1st West India Regiment* (552 strength).—In this force of 552 non-commissioned officers and men, 46 per cent of sickness occurred; 29 per cent of the sickness being due to fevers (principally malarial), 3 per cent to dysentery and diarrhoea, and 69 per cent to diseases other than these. The mortality amounted to .36 per cent of strength. No invaliding.

(d) *Health of 2d West India Regiment, Wood's, Russell's, and Rail's* (1605 strength).—In this force of 1605 men, 64 per cent of sickness occurred; 21 per cent being due to fevers (principally malarial), 17 per cent to dysentery and diarrhoea, and 62 per cent to diseases other than these. The mortality amounted to 2.86 per cent of

strength. The invaliding from the 2d W.I. Regiment was *nil*; that from the irregular regiments amounted to 10 per cent of men forwarded to their own homes for discharge from the service.

The health of both the Naval Brigade and the three white regiments, appears therefore in a very unfavourable light when compared with that of the black troops.

(Signed) W. A. MACKINNON, *P.M.O.*

TABLE I.—SICK AND WOUNDED.

	23d Regt.	42d Regt.	Rifle Brigade.	1st W. I. R.	2d W. I. R.	Naval Brigade.	Wood's Regt.	Russell's Regt.	Rait's.
Fevers, . . . . .	85	278	371	73	185	134	2	29	7
Dysentery and Diarrhoea, . . . . .	25	42	89	7	127	85	18	22	7
Other diseases, . . . . .	170	133	42	175	423	19	92	108	3
Gunshot wounds, . . . . .	12	122	30	6	16	63	24	62	13

TABLE II.—CASUALTIES.

	23d Regt.	42d Regt.	Rifle Brigade.	1st W. I. R.	Naval Brigade.	R. E.	R. A.	Wood's Regt.	Russell's Regt.	Rait's.
Fevers, . . . . .	...	2	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
Dysentery and Diarrhoea, . . . . .	...	...	4	...	7	3	1	1	...	...
Gunshot wounds, men killed, . . . . .	...	6	3	...	1	2	...	...	2	6
Other diseases, . . . . .	...	2	...	...	7	...	1	...	2	...

TABLE III.—SICK PER 1000 OF STRENGTH.

	From Fevers.	From Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	From other Dis- eases.	Total Sick per 1000.
23d Regt., . . .	314	93	630	1037
42d Regt., . . .	423	64	203	690
Rifle Brigade, . . .	569	137	64	770
1st W. I. R., . . .	132	13	317	462
2d W. I. R., . . .	330	227	755	1312
Naval Brigade, . . .	536	340	76	952
Wood's Regt., . . .	5	41	209	255
Russell's Regt., . . .	52	39	193	284
Rait's, . . . . .	156	156	66	378

NOTE.—The 2d W. I. R., Wood's, Russell's, and Rait's, were engaged on active service on Gold Coast from 1st October 1873 to 28th February 1874. The 1st W. I. R., Naval Brigade, and three European regiments, from 1st January 1874 to 28th February 1874. The figures in all these Tables relate respectively to these periods only.

TABLE IV.—PERCENTAGE OF SICKNESS AND WOUNDS TO STRENGTH.

	Strength.	SICKNESS.			WOUNDS.
		Per cent from Fevers.	Per cent from Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Per cent from other Diseases.	Per cent from Gunshot Wounds.
23d Regt., . . .	270	30	9	61	4
42d Regt., . . .	656	42	6	20	19
Rifle Brigade, . . .	652	57	14	6	5
1st W. I. R., . . .	552	13	1	32	1
2d W. I. R., . . .	560	25	17	57	3
Naval Brigade, . . .	250	54	34	8	25
Wood's Regt., . . .	440	45	4	21	5
Russell's Regt., . . .	560	5	4	19	11
Rait's Artillery, . . .	45	16	16	7	29



## NARRATIVE OF

TABLE V.—PERCENTAGE OF MORTALITY TO STRENGTH.

	MORTALITY.				TOTAL MORTALITY.
	Per cent from Fevers.	Per cent from Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Per cent from other Diseases.	Per cent from Gunshot Wounds.	Per cent of Total Mortality.
23d Regt., .	...	...	...	...	...
42d Regt., .	.31	...	.46	.91	1.68
Rifle Brigade,	.31	.61	...	.46	1.38
1st W. I. R.	.36	...	...	...	.36
(Black only),					
2d W. I. R.	.18	1.25	1.25	.18	2.86
(Black only),					
Naval Brigade,	...	1.20	...	.80	2.00
Wood's Regt.,	...	...	.45	.45	.90
Russell's Regt.,	...	...	...	1.07	1.07
Rait's Artillery,	...	...	...	2.22	2.22
R. E. (65), .	...	1.43	1.43	...	2.86
R. A. .	...	1.43	...	...	1.53

TABLE VI.—TOTAL SICK, INVALIDED, WOUNDED, DIED, AND KILLED.

	SICK.		INVALIDED.		WOUNDED.		DIED.		KILLED.	
	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.
Special Service,	44	...	31	...	11	...	3	...	4	...
Royal Artillery,	3	22	...	11	...	...	1	...	...	...
Royal Engineers,	6	71	2	23	1	5	...	2	...	...
23d Regt., .	8	280	5	263	1	12	...	...	...	...
42d Regt., .	12	453	5	185	13	122	...	9	...	2
Rifle Brigade, .	19	502	7	223	3	30	...	9	...	...
1st W. I. R. { B.	15	255	4	...	...	6	...	2	...	...
{ W.	...	6	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
2d W. I. R. { B.	25	735	13	...	3	16	...	15	...	1
{ W.	...	16	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...
A. M. D., .	30	...	16	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Rait's Artillery,	...	17	...	11	...	13	...	1	...	...
Wood's Regt., .	...	112	...	28	...	24	...	2	...	2
Russell's Regt.,	...	159	...	67	...	62	...	3	...	3
Naval Brigade,	7	238	10	98	7	63	4	3	...	2

*In addition*—4 Scouts were killed and 22 wounded ; and 7 Engineer labourers were killed and 28 wounded.

*The Black Invalids* proceeded to their homes for discharge.

The reader who has studied these volumes cannot have failed to see how difficult is the nature of the task before us, if we hold our possessions on the Gold Coast. Two main causes, the character of the people and the nature of the climate, render that task so difficult, that if it could with honour be done, by far the simplest and easiest course would be to abandon the Coast. Why should we retain these possessions? The figures produced by Mr Holms in the House of Commons prove that they are not self-supporting, and that we are paying dearly in money for retaining them. It can scarcely be said that we must give protection to the traders who, at those various times when the Government has given up the Coast, have shown themselves quite capable of protecting themselves—who carry on trade as safely at Quittah, which is not in our Protectorate, as they do at Cape Coast itself—and whose chief articles of trade are spirits and munitions of war, which they sell with equal liberality to ourselves and our enemies. The missionary establishments do not ask for protection, and would flourish quite as well were we to withdraw altogether from the Coast. Why then do we retain these possessions, which over and over again Committees of the House of Commons have recommended should be abandoned? Because, say our legislators, there are obligations due by us to the natives, whom we have demoralised and rendered unfit to cope with their stronger neighbours. Was there ever such a bitter satire? Because our contact with the natives has destroyed all their finer and more manly qualities, therefore that contact is to continue. What proof is there that the Fantis ever possessed these finer qualities? What proof is there that our communication with them has destroyed it? How did the Fantis come to the Coast? They were the weaker tribes, who either

fled from, or were driven out by, their stronger neighbours. These neighbours retaining their strength have reconquered the Fantis over and over again, and reduced them to the abject condition in which we found them at the commencement of this expedition. Is it not a fact that those tribes visited by Colonel Colley, and whom no contact with Europeans had demoralised, were the first to run away, and the last to turn out to meet their enemy? That the Fantis are a weak, idle, cowardly race; that all the sterner virtues are wanting in them; and that if we leave them to themselves they must inevitably in a very short space of time be overrun and enslaved by the Ashantis,—is a position which admits of no doubt. It is determined, however, by our legislators, that because of our having demoralised these tribes, we are to remain on the Coast and afford them our protection. There exists no written obligation to this end. The written obligation of 1852 was contingent on the payment of a tax which soon ceased to be paid. Sir Garnet Wolseley's promises to the chiefs were contingent on their doing everything to help him and help themselves, and they threw every hindrance in our way. No obligation, written or unwritten, actual or moral, exists binding us to protect these races, except this one, that we have for years past accustomed them to look to us for protection, and not to rely upon themselves.

By almost universal consent, were it not for this moral obligation, the Coast would be at once abandoned. But as it is held by the political chiefs of both parties that we are bound in honour not to abandon it, the writer unhesitatingly asserts that there is no safe mean between abandonment and empire. If abandonment, immediate and complete, cannot be—if this decision is taken past recall—then there must be empire.

What is the condition of things which we are undertaking to bolster up? The hostility between the Ashantis on the one side, and the Akims, Assins, Denkeras, Wassaws, and Fantis on the other, is hereditary; and no amount of treaties can ever make it cease. Treaties with these people are never worth the paper they are written on; and the British Government is undertaking, by remaining on the Coast, to protect these cowardly Coast tribes against their formidable and courageous neighbours. Will any person who has watched the course of events for years past on the Gold Coast venture to say that these protected tribes will not take advantage of the present temporary humiliation of the Ashanti power to insult the King of Ashanti, and to make it impossible for his people to have free trade with the coast? Already the Akims have begun inducing the inhabitants of the nearest Ashanti villages to revolt from their king, and an order has been sent that they are not to do so any more. How is this order to be enforced? How are our decrees from time to time to be enforced? Create a West African empire, rule with a strong hand, depose immediately any king who is contumacious, place a puppet king on the throne in his place, and rule from your central military government by means of these puppets, increasing their nominal powers over their people, and making them but the instruments to execute your own decrees; keep up a strong armed force by which to put out the first faint spark of rebellion,—and by these means you might possibly so govern your Protectorate as to prevent fresh war with other tribes. But how is it possible to maintain such an empire? Is not the first condition of successful empire uniformity of system of government and strength of rule? and how are these to be attained on the Gold Coast? The example of India has been cited, and it has been said

that "we have there raised such a monument of statesmanship and power as the world has not seen since the days of the Roman empire." But can you ever raise such a monument on the Gold Coast? Look at the one question of climate alone. Can you ever get a first-rate man to rule in such an accursed country? Look at the statistics of health amongst the European troops employed in this campaign. Remember that they are not weak men, or men much afraid of responsibility or of danger, to whom the government of the Gold Coast was in succession offered by Sir Garnet Wolseley on leaving the Coast; yet not one would accept the charge. And why? because of the climate. They were all men to whom the offer of a governorship, affording such opportunities for administration, would elsewhere have been a prize worth taking; but not one would accept it here. Nor will any addition to the Governor's salary obtain first-rate men for the post. To such men there is something beyond money; and even supposing that by chance a first-rate Governor is procured, what guarantee is there that he will live or can live in the country for more than a few months? and if he does, it is a well-known fact that his energies will deteriorate under the depressing influence of the climate. It is useless to blink the fact, that no European can remain long on that coast without losing much of his physical energy and mental vigour. It is impossible wisely to administer empire under these conditions; and that which applies to the Governor, applies in the same degree to every official upon the Coast. Look at the difficult questions with which we have to deal—domestic slavery, abolition of fetishism, and reconciliation of the native tribes. Do not these require a combination of tact and firmness which it is rare to find; and is it possible that all these

difficulties shall be solved by men of an inferior calibre, constantly suffering from the climate, and constantly being changed? A West African empire is the dream of a fanatic; it does not come within the range of possible achievements.

The scheme now proposed by her Majesty's Government is a frank confession of weakness. It consists, to use a typographical simile, in bracketing Cape Coast and Lagos, and writing "stet" in the margin. No alteration is to be made in our relations with either colony; but the absurd system of governing our whole possessions on the Coast by several administrators, under one Governor-in-Chief, at Sierra Leone, is to be abandoned; Sierra Leone and the Gambia are to be retained under one government, and the Gold Coast and Lagos under another. This is a mere half-measure. The Protectorates of the Gold Coast and Lagos have nothing in common; the Governor of these two colonies will have two tasks, as distinct as though he were governing the Gold Coast and Jamaica; and with all the responsibilities entailed by the retention of our Protectorate on the Gold Coast, it is surely unwise not to give to the Gold Coast a separate and distinct government. With the exception of this alteration, of some slight increase of salaries to the existing colonial officials, and a slight increase in their number, no change in the existing system is made; all our responsibilities are retained, all our existing difficulties are left untouched. Yet it is not by a trivial increase of salaries that these great difficulties are to be met; nor is it for one single moment to be believed that the evils of the climate are to be vanquished by the creation at Akropong of a hill station, which shall be to Accra what Simla is to Calcutta. A hill station on hills only 1400 to 1500 feet

high, close to the equator, and surrounded by the great African forest, does not afford the magnificent climate of a hill station in the Himalayas ; nor must it be forgotten that while the Governor, and perhaps a few of his staff, may live in comparative health at Akropong during a portion of the year, their unhappy subordinates, by whom the details of government must be administered at the various points occupied by us on the coast and in the interior, will be as certainly murdered by the climate in future as heretofore. Has it thoroughly been realised what that climate is ? In less than two months 71 per cent of sickness took place in the European force, 59 per cent of which was due to fevers, and 13 per cent to dysentery and diarrhoea. Lord Carnarvon has drawn attention to the mortality amongst the force, stating that the whole number of deaths that occurred during the late campaign, including even the deaths which had resulted after the return of the troops, was not quite 23 per 1000, "about the same as the death-rate in the metropolis, and lower than the death-rate in some other English towns." We accept this fact, and beg to call attention to what it really means. Three regiments, every man in which had been carefully medically examined before starting, having had a sea-voyage in large and roomy ships, are landed on the Gold Coast, and kept there during those two months of the year in which alone the climate is tolerably bearable. During their stay on the Coast they had incessant active occupation ; they were never kept for a day in an unhealthy town, or amongst the crowded dwellings of the natives ; they were admirably fed, clothed to suit the climate, and provided with every preventive to disease which sanitary skill can devise. Yet under these conditions the death-rate amongst

these picked troops was equal to that amongst the populace—men, women, and children, healthy and unhealthy,—of the crowded metropolis of London. How can this be quoted as in favour of the Gold Coast, and what does such a mortality represent amongst Europeans exposed to the climate of the Gold Coast during its unhealthy months? Once more we repeat the climate is deadly to European life; and of those whom the climate does not kill, how many escape with their constitutions unimpaired? If we must keep white men there, let us at least not slur over the danger.

For what purpose are we going to keep up our possessions in this horrible country? To try the experiment of governing under conditions fatal to good government?

Are there no means of opening this country up to trade? no means of infusing into it an element superior to that of the Fanti races? of holding in check the savagery of the inland tribes, and preventing the whole Coast again becoming abandoned to fetishism and human sacrifices? To the writer's mind there is but one method, and that one is by an appeal to man's most ignoble passion—the lust of gold. This country is not without reason called the Gold Coast. Gold is there in profusion, and to be had for the seeking. We have ourselves seen the women washing the sand at Cape Coast and finding gold. When Captain Thompson visited the Wassaw country, he found the roads impassable at night by reason of the gold-pits upon them. Captain Butler describes Western Akim as a country teeming with gold. Captain Glover has said that in Eastern Akim gold is as plentiful as potatoes in Ireland, and the paths were honeycombed with gold-pits. Dawson has distinctly stated his opinion



that the Fanti gold-mines are far more valuable than those of Ashanti—that the only known Ashanti gold-mine of great value is that of Manoso ; whereas the Wasaw and the Nquamfossoo mines, as well as the Akim mines, have rock-gold in profusion. He says that the Ashantis get their gold from the Fantis in exchange for slaves, whom they buy for two or three loads of collar nuts, worth less than half an ounce of gold, and sell to the Fantis for as much as two and a quarter ounces of gold. Let our Government prospect these mines ; let Acts be passed similar to those by which our railway companies are empowered to compel persons to sell their land at a fair price ; let our Government, by means of Houssa troops, guarantee protection to companies formed to work the mines ; and let the payment to the kings in whose country they are, be by royalties upon the gold obtained. The kings would offer the utmost resistance to their mines being thus taken and worked ; but they never have worked them properly themselves, and they never will work them properly ; and it would be no injustice to force them to allow others to do so. If the true value of these mines were ascertained by Government mining engineers, if the Government would guarantee protection to those engaged in working them, companies would soon be formed to reap the rich harvest to be found upon the Coast. Chinese coolies would be imported, who would breed in with the natives, and infuse some energy into the Fanti races. Trade would soon follow, roads be made, and the whole country opened up. The engagement of our Government should be a limited one, for if once the gold-mines were at work, there would be no further fear that the country would ever fall back into the hands of the Ashantis.

By no other means but that strongest of all temptations, the acquisition of gold, can this country ever be opened up. The god mammon has no lack of votaries, and it matters little if they are crushed to death by thousands under his golden car. Better so than that we should sacrifice over and over again, as we must do if we continue the existing system of government on the Gold Coast, the best and noblest of our English blood at the shrine of a false philanthropy.

## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

COOMASSIE, *5th February 1874.*

SIR,—According to the intention expressed in my despatch which I had the honour of addressing you on the 1st inst., I on that day attacked Becquah, about a mile to the west of Amoaful. The operation was successfully carried out under the command of Brigadier-General Sir A. Alison, Bart., C.B. The forces engaged were as per margin, and the casualties are shown in the enclosed statement.

Royal Naval Brigade, H.Q.  
and Det. 23d R.W.F., 42d  
Highlanders, Russell's Regi-  
ment, Rait's Artillery, 1 7-  
pounder gun, and 1 rocket  
detachment, R.E. detach-  
ment.

On the day following, I moved forward to Agemmamu, the enemy disputing every mile of ground. There I established a fortified post, where I left all my tents and baggage.

On the 3d inst. I moved forward again, the enemy in great force opposing our advance, and hanging round our flanks. Whilst on the march, I received a letter from the king begging me to halt, and saying he would consent to my terms. I replied that he had so deceived me before that I could not trust him; but to prove to him how anxious I was for peace, I would halt for the night on the Ordah river, and would not advance beyond it with all my force until the following morning, if he would send me at once his mother and brother as hostages.

During the night I had a bridge constructed over the river, and gave the enemy nearly two hours of daylight the following morning (4th) before I crossed the river.

The advanced-guard under the command of Colonel M'Leod, 42d Highlanders, was brought to a standstill shortly after the advance began, and a general action soon developed itself, lasting for more than six hours. The enemy did not, however, fight with the same courage as at Amoaful; for although their resistance was most determined, their fire was wild, and they did not generally attack us at such close quarters as in the former action.

The village of Ordahsu having been carried by the Rifle Brigade at nine o'clock, I massed all my force there, having previously passed all the reserve ammunition, field hospitals, and supplies through the troops who held the road between the river and the village, a distance of about a mile. The enemy then attacked the village with large numbers from all sides, and for some hours we could make no progress, but steadily held our ground. The 42d Highlanders being then sent to the front, advanced with pipes playing, and carried the enemy's position to the north of the village in the most gallant style, Captain Rait's Artillery doing most effective service in covering the attack, which was led by Colonel M'Leod.

After some further fighting on the front line, a panic seems to have seized the enemy, who fled along the road to Coomassie in complete rout. Although the columns they had detached to assault our flanks and rear continued for some time afterwards to make partial attacks upon the village, we followed close upon the enemy's heels into Coomassie. The town was still occupied by large numbers of armed men, who did not attempt to resist. The king had fled no one knew whither. Our troops had undergone a most fatiguing day's work—no water fit for drinking having been obtained during the action or the subsequent advance, and the previous night's rest having been broken by a tornado, which drenched our bivouac. It was nearly six o'clock when the troops formed up in the main street of Coomassie, and gave three cheers for the Queen.

Since my arrival here last night, I have sent several messengers to the king, and used every possible effort to induce him to come in and make peace. Should he refuse my offers, I shall destroy his palace and his capital, and march without a day's delay to the coast.

I avail myself of this halt in Coomassie, the goal of our military enterprise, to bring before you the names of those officers who have rendered signal service in the operations so far concluded.

It has seldom been a General's good fortune to be assisted by a staff so thoroughly efficient in all branches as have been those carefully selected officers forming the staff of this expedition.

To my personal staff I am deeply indebted for the manner in which they have performed their duties. Captain H. Brackenbury, my Assistant Military Secretary, a highly educated officer, has shown much practical ability in the field, and only requires opportunity for the development of great military talents.

Lieutenant Maurice, R.A., my Private Secretary, has carried on

my correspondence with the colonial officer, and I have brought his name to the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both Captain Brackenbury and Lieutenant Maurice have been with me from the first, and have worked indefatigably.

Of Colonel M'Neill, who was my Chief of the Staff at the beginning of the war, I have already given my opinion in a previous despatch. His severe wound received in our first fight deprived me of his valuable services. His soldier-like qualities, his powers of mind and body, render him invaluable to any general commanding a force. From the date of his being wounded in October until the 17th December, the duties of Chief of the Staff were ably carried out to my entire satisfaction by Major Baker, the Assistant Adjutant-General, to whose untiring energy I owe much of the success that has attended all our operations. In my opinion he possesses every quality that is valuable in a staff officer.

Colonel Greaves assumed the duties of Chief of the Staff on the 17th December. His great knowledge of the army, his experience as a staff officer, the zeal and ability he brings to bear upon his work, mark him out as eminently qualified for the post he occupied. He has rendered me most valuable service.

The topographical work was well carried out under Captain Huyshe, D.A.Q.M.G., whose death at Prahsu, on the 19th January, deprived her Majesty of a gallant soldier. The surveys were made by him, assisted by Captain Buller, 60th Rifles, Lieutenant A. F. Hart, 31st Foot, and other officers. Lieutenant Hart made nearly all the surveys north of the river Prah.

The duties of the Intelligence Department were most efficiently performed by Captain Buller, D.A.Q.M.G. He is an excellent staff officer. I am much indebted to him for the information of the enemy's doings that he supplied me with throughout the war. The extensive knowledge he acquired of the native tribes both in Ashanti and the territories allied to us, was invaluable to me in my dealings with the kings and chiefs.

The medical arrangements for the war were made by Deputy Surgeon-General Home, V.C., C.B. I have in a previous despatch recorded my high appreciation of the ability and energy with which he carried out his duty up to the date of his being invalided, and of the efficient manner in which he prepared for the medical requirements of the troops in the advance upon Coomassie. The organisation planned by him was well carried out by Surgeon-Major Mackinnon, C.B., who joined me on the march at Accrofoomoo, and

who has since continued to perform the duties of principal medical officer to my entire satisfaction. Of the medical officers employed, I wish especially to bring to your notice the services of Surgeons-Major Woolfreys, Mosse, Waters, Jackson, and Turton, and Staff-Surgeon Irwin, R.N. ; also of Surgeon G. W. M'Nalty, who has had charge of the headquarter staff since we left Cape Coast on our march to Coomassie.

The Control arrangements have been energetically carried out by Deputy-Controller Irvine, C.M.G., with his usual zeal. I cannot award him higher praise than by saying that the men were well fed and their wants carefully provided for throughout the campaign. The transport that at one time caused me serious anxiety was efficiently organised by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Colley, 2d Queen's Regiment. He was assisted by 22 special-service officers and 6 officers of the Control Department. It was a happy circumstance that placed at my disposal the services of an officer of such well-known ability as Lieutenant-Colonel Colley. His great talent for organisation soon placed the transport upon a satisfactory footing. To him I confided sole charge of the line of communications. In a war like this it is absolutely necessary that the officer in command of the transport should have charge of the line of communications. It was therefore necessary that these two most important duties should be discharged by a combatant officer.

Amongst the officers of the Control Department, all of whom have worked with much energy, I would wish especially to mention Commissary O'Connor and Deputy Commissary Ravenscroft.

Throughout the second phase of the war I have received every possible assistance from Commodore Hewett, V.C., commanding the squadron on the African station, who accompanied me on the march to Coomassie ; I have had to make incessant calls upon him for naval services, and in every instance my requests have been complied with. He kindly placed at my disposal a Naval Brigade, consisting of 17 officers and 265 selected men, whose services have been of the greatest value, and who all have fought throughout the campaign with the dashing courage for which her Majesty's seamen and marines are so celebrated. When my transport difficulties were greatest, Commodore Hewett helped me most materially by supplying Kroomen to act as carriers ; and he allowed no regulations to stand in the way of his exertions to secure the ultimate success in this war, in which he and those under his command have played a prominent part.

Captain Rait has been the officer commanding the Royal Artillery throughout both phases of this war. He organised a Houssa battery in a most able manner. The officers, English non-commissioned officers, and gunners attached to it, worked indefatigably. In all the actions and skirmishes, the gun and rocket fire has been most effective, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground on which we fought. I consider Captain Rait to be one of the best soldiers I have ever served with.

In this force, where every white man has had hard work, and where, especially previous to the arrival of the English troops, all the selected officers that I brought out with me were untiring in their exertions, Major Home, the commanding Royal Engineer, has had his full share of hard work, and most admirably has he performed it. Hutting the troops, constructing fortified posts, making a road practicable for all arms up to within a few hundred yards of the position where the enemy fought their first battle in their own territory—bridging the river Prah, an obstacle of considerable magnitude, and subsequently the river Ordah also, besides a large number of smaller streams and rivers,—the Royal Engineers under Major Home, R.E., have worked with the zeal for which their corps has always been conspicuous, and I cannot sufficiently thank him for the manner in which he has carried out the numerous and arduous duties that have devolved upon him.

Brigadier-General Sir A. Alison, Bart., C.B., commanding the European Brigade, has rendered me every possible assistance, and has carried out his orders to my entire satisfaction. He has brought to my notice the valuable assistance which he received from his Brigade-Major, Captain Robinson, Rifle Brigade; and his aides-de-camp, Captain Russell, 12th Lancers, and Lieutenant Fitzgerald, Rifle Brigade.

Colonel M'Leod, C.B., 42d Highlanders, commanded the advanced-guard during the march from the Adansi hills to Coomassie, conducting his operations with cool gallantry in the most skilful manner. The forcing of all positions occupied by the enemy in our front devolved upon him, and I consider myself most fortunate in having had so able an officer to select for that very trying duty.

The officers commanding English corps were Captain Grubbe, R.N.; Lieutenant-Colonel Mostyn, 2/23d Royal Welsh Fusiliers; Major Macpherson, 42d Highlanders; and subsequently, when that officer was wounded, Major Scott of the same regiment; and Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, 2d battalion Rifle Brigade: to all of whom my best thanks are due.

The two native regiments raised on the Coast were commanded throughout the war by Brevet Lt.-Colonel H. E. Wood, 90th Light Infantry, and by Brevet Major B. C. Russell, 13th Hussars. Both these officers have, upon many occasions, been placed in very difficult positions requiring the exercise of high military qualities, and have invariably carried out their very arduous and trying duties most efficiently. I take the liberty of bringing to especial notice, as those upon whom the brunt of this war has fallen, these, and the other combatant officers named below, who originally came out with me or followed by the first mail-steamer.

*Personal Staff.*

Captain H. Brackenbury, R.A., Assistant Military Secretary.

*General Staff.*

Colonel M'Neill, V.C., C.M.G., Colonel on the Staff (severely wounded).

Major T. D. Baker, 18th Royal Irish, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Captain R. H. Buller, 60th Rifles, Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General (wounded).

Major R. Home, commanding Royal Engineers (wounded).

Captain A. J. Rait, R.A., commanding Royal Artillery.

*Special Service.*

Brevet Lt.-Colonel H. E. Wood, V.C., 90th Light Infantry (wounded).

Brevet Major B. C. Russell, 13th Hussars.

Captain G. A. Furse, 42d Highlanders.

„ A. A. Godwin, 103d Royal Bombay Fusiliers (severely wounded).

Captain C. J. Bromhead, 24th Regiment.

„ R. Gordon, 93d Highlanders (invalided).

Lieutenant A. Saunders, R.A.

„ R. O. Richmond, 50th Queen's Own.

„ H. F. S. Bolton, 1st West Indian Regiment.

„ J. F. Maurice, R.A.

„ E. R. S. Woodgate, 4th King's Own.

„ E. F. Lord Gifford, 24th Regiment (wounded).

„ W. F. Dooner, 8th King's Own.

„ A. F. Hart, 31st Regiment (wounded).

„ J. W. Graves, 18th Royal Irish.

„ M. S. Bell, R.E.

„ G. F. Mann, R.E.



Also Captain A. H. Gordon, 84th Regiment, who was on the Coast before my arrival.

Of the original party of thirty, four officers, named in the margin, have been killed in action, three have died from the effects of climate, and seven have been wounded.

Killed in action :—  
Lt. E. Wilmot, R.A.  
Lt. Eyre, 90th L.I.  
Capt. Nicol, Hants Militia.  
Capt. Buckle, R.E.

Died from effects of climate :—

Lt. Hon. A. Charteris, A.D.C.  
Capt. Huyshe, D.A.Q.M.G.  
Lt. E. Townshend, 16th Regt.

It is difficult to select from among such men any one as particularly deserving of favour ; but I cannot refrain from singling out Lieutenant Lord Gifford, 24th Regiment, with a view to his name being laid before her Majesty for the distinction of the Victoria Cross. He has been in charge of the scouts since the army crossed the Prah ; and it is no exaggeration to say, that since we passed the Adansi hills, he has daily carried his life in his hand in the performance of his most dangerous duties. He has hung upon the rear of the enemy, discovering their position, and ferreting out their intentions. With no other white man with him, and only a few natives to protect him, he has captured numerous prisoners ; but I would bring him forward for the mark of royal favour most especially for his conduct at the taking of Becquah, into which place he penetrated with his scouts before the troops carried it, when his gallantry and courage were most conspicuous.

On the recommendation of Colonel M'Leod who commanded the advanced-guard in the actions of Amoafu and Ordahsu, I have also great pleasure in recommending for the distinction of the Victoria Cross (for their gallant conduct in those actions) the following officer, non-commissioned officer, and men of the 42d Highlanders :

Captain A. F. Kidston.  
Sergeant Samuel M'Gaw.  
Private George Cameron.  
Private George Ritchie.

I beg to bring to your especial notice the bearer of this despatch, Lieut. Hon. H. Wood, 10th Hussars, my aide-de-camp, who has rendered me valuable services throughout this campaign.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. J. WOLSELEY, *Major-General.*

The Right Honourable

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

## No. II.

The following are the forces which, in the opinion of Mr Dawson, who ought to be a sufficiently good judge, the Fantis could turn out in case of necessity :—

1. Cape Coast and dependencies, . . . . .	4,000
2. Anamaboe, . . . . .	3,000
3. Abora State, . . . . .	3,000
4. Koreutsel, Amanfo, and } . . . . .	25,000
5. Inkosokum, }	
6. Gomoa, . . . . .	10,000
7. Ekunfi, . . . . .	3,000
8. Ayan, }	
9. Essekomah, }	1,500
10. Efoah, . . . . .	3,000
11. Aguna, . . . . .	1,300
12. Assene Atteneso, }	
13. Assene Apemanem, }	3,200
14. Denkera, . . . . .	3,100
15. Troifol, . . . . .	1,000
16. Aberem, . . . . .	600
17. Wassawfiasi, }	
18. Wassaw Amanfi, }	8,000
19. Dixcove and Secondee, . . . . .	800
20. Appolonia Attuabo, . . . . .	5,000
	<hr/>
	53,000

*Eastern District.*

21. Akra and dependencies, . . . . .	10,000
22. Akoapem, . . . . .	8,000
23. Adaan, . . . . .	2,000
24. Akem Ebuakwa, }	
25. Akem Kotoko, }	7,200
26. Akem Manso, }	
	<hr/>
	80,200

In Ashanti, the conditions are, or were, at all events up to our entry into Coomassie, very different. The kingdom of Ashanti is composed of a number of separate kingdoms or principalities, acknowledging as their one governing head the King of Coomassie, who is, therefore, really more an emperor than a king. The tribes composing the kingdom of Ashanti were all represented in the embassy which signed the Treaty of Fommanah at Cape Coast Castle. Dawson gives the names of the states of the kingdom, with their supposed men of war, as under; but says that the numbers here given are quite the maximum, and that some of the places have not two-thirds of what is here put down for them.

1. Kumassi,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5000
2. Kokofu,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
3. Gwaben,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
4. Bekwæ,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
5. Adanse,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3000
6. Mampon,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
7. Insuta,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
8. Inkoransa,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6000
9. Efeduase,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1000
10. Abesime,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1500
11. Esumgya,	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
12. Amoafu,	.	.	.	.	.	.	300
13. Asanso,	.	.	.	.	.	.	200
14. Allen Kereya,	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
15. Odaqyave,	.	.	.	.	.	.	500
16. Bono,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
17. Okomas,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1000
18. Sewie,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1500
19. Koaow,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6000
							<hr/>
							38,120
							<hr/>

The following, according to Dawson, is the order of the Ashanti march to war. "K" denotes captains in Coomassie:—

*Right-wing Captains.*

- K. 1. Amankwatea of Bautoma.
- K. 2. Buake of Assefo.
- K. 3. Egece Kese of Edom.

*Left-wing Captains.*

1. Kwabena Djomo of Mampon.
2. Essiandawa of Iusuta.
3. Attafoa of Inkoransa.
4. Edome of Essomqya.
5. Yamane of Efeduase.

*Centre Force.*

- K. 1. Knese Eune of Dadeasuaba.
- K. 2. Escamoa Nkwanta of Sentiaon.
- K. 3. Koesse Donfe, head of the fetish servants.
- K. 4. Nsendee Apagčē.

Then follows the king. Barempa of Akramade, and the Adansi, form the rear-guard. The remaining men are to be stationed against unforeseen enemies.

## METEOROLOGICAL RETURNS FOR OCTOBER 1873.—CAPE COAST.

Date.	9 A.M.				Amount of Cloud.	3 P.M.				9 A.M.				Rainfall in 24 hours.	REMARKS.
	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Direction of Wind.	Force of Wind.		Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Direction of Wind.	Force of Wind.	Amount of Cloud.	Maximum in Air.	Minimum in Air.	Range of Temperature.		
1	74	72	S.		9	77	75	S.	2	2	90	72	18	81	Cool morning, hot afternoon.
2	75	74	None		8	76	76	S.	4	3	77	73	4	75	Fine morning, hot afternoon.
3	76	75	S.W.		6	76	72	S.	1	8	77	75	4	77	Hot sun during break in clouds.
4	76	75	None		5	78	75	S.W.	5	4	77	72	5	74.5	Sea-breeze from W. and S.W.
5	75	73	W.		5	78	72	W.	4	3	77	73	3	74.5	S.W. sea-breeze beginning to blow regular.
6	77	73	None		4	79	75	S.W.	5	2	80	73	7	76.5	Cool morning, aneroid 30.1 inches.
7	75	73	W.		3	79	75	S.W.	3	2	79	73	6	76	Cool, agreeable.
8	76	73	S.W.		3	79	76	S.W.	2	9	77	73	4	75	Lightning in N.E. breeze at sunset.
9	75	73	W.		3	79	75	S.W.	2	8	78	73	5	75.5	Warm morning, cool sea-breeze.
10	76	74	W.		4	79	76	S.W.	4	2	79	73	6	76	Cool morning, lightning at night.
11	77	75	W.		4	75	74	S.W.	5	2	78	72	6	75	Damp and disagreeable at sunset, thunder.
12	74	75	None		9	79	76	S.W.	2	0	80	76	4	78	Damp abortive tornado 1 P.M.
13	76	74	S.W.		8	79	76	S.W.	3	2	80	76	5	76.5	Fine hot afternoon, cool sea-breeze.
14	76	75	S.W.		2	79	76	S.	4	3	79	73	6	76	Fine, lightning at night.
15	78	75	S.W.		3	82	77	S.	4	3	79	73	7	76.5	Fine hot afternoon, glare and heat.
16	78	75	S.		3	82	78	S.W.	3	4	80	73	7	78.5	Warm morning.
17	77	75	S.W.		3	82	77	S.W.	2	7	82	75	7	73.5	Damp and disagreeable.
18	77	75	S.W.		5	82	77	S.W.	5	2	76	75	7	75.5	All appearance rain in morning.
19	77	74.2	W.		10	81	77	S.W.	3	10	83	74	9	78.5	Lightning at night, dull, heavy thunder.
20	77.2	75	W.		10	81	77	S.W.	5	8	81	75	6	78	Early morning cloudy, damp showers 3 P.M.
21	78.2	75	W.		3	81	77	S.W.	3	8	81	73	6	78	Sea-breeze, 10 A.M. lightning.
22	78.2	75	W.		5	80	76	S.W.	3	6	80	74	6	77	Fine morning, heavy showers from E. 5 P.M.
23	79	76	W.		5	82	77	S.	2	3	80	75	6	77.5	Fine morning, light breeze, cool and pleasant.
24	78.2	75.2	S.		4	82	77	S.	4	2	82	74	6	78	Fine morning, sea-breeze, vivid lightning.
25	79	76	S.		2	82	78	S.	4	1	81	75	6	78	Fine 9 A.M., damp clouded early morning.
26	78.2	76	S.		2	82	78	S.	3	1	82	74	8	78	6 A.M. sea-breeze, lunar halo at night.
27	79	76	S.		2	82	78	S.	3	3	82	74	8	78	Fine morning, gentle sea-breeze.
28	79.2	76	None		2	82	78	S.	1	3	81.2	75	6.2	78.1	Fine morning, cool sea-breeze.
29	79	76	None		2	82	77	S.	1	5	82	75	7	78.5	Fine morning, light sea-breeze.
30	78	76	S.		2	81	78	S.	3	5	82	75	6	78	Close, warm, cool sea-breeze afternoon.
31	79	75	None		2	82	78	S.	4	3	82	75	7	78.5	Pleasant morning, good sea-breeze.

(Signed)

A. D. HOME, Deputy Surgeon-General, F.M.O.

## METEOROLOGICAL RETURNS FOR NOVEMBER 1873.—CAPE COAST.

Date.	9 A.M.					3 P.M.					9 A.M.				Rainfall in 24 hours.	REMARKS.
	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Direction of Wind.	Force of Wind.	Amount of Cloud.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Direction of Wind.	Force of Wind.	Amount of Cloud.	Maximum In Air.	Minimum In Air.	Range of Temperature.	Approximate Mean Temp.		
1	79	77	S.	3	3	83	80	S.	4	4	83	75	8	79	Fine morning.	
2	80	77	S.	3	3	84	80	S.	4	2	83	75	8	79	Fine but cloudy.	
3	80	78	S.	3	3	84	81	S.	5	3	85	77	8	81	Fine, light breeze.	
4	80	78	W.	3	3	83	80	W.	4	3	85	77	8	81	Close but clear.	
5	80	78	W.	3	3	84	81	W.	5	3	85	77	8	81	Bright but sultry.	
6	82	79	S.	1	2	86	82	S.	3	3	86	78	8	82	Fine and clear.	
7	79	77	S.	2	2	84	80	S.	3	3	86	79	9	82	Calm warm morning.	
8	81	78	S.	1	4	84	82	S.	4	5	86	76	10	81	Sultry, evening cloudy.	
9	81	78	S.	2	4	85	80	S.	3	3	84	75	11	80	Clear and warm.	
10	80	79	S.	2	3	83	82	S.	4	3	87	77	10	82	Fine, sea-breeze.	
11	80	79	W.	2	3	85	82	W.	5	4	86	76	10	81	Dull morning.	
12	81	79	W.	3	2	84	82	W.	6	4	86	76	10	81	Morning cloudy.	
13	81	80	S.	3	3	82	81	S.	7	6	86	76	10	81	Morning clear.	
14	81	80	W.	2	3	85	83	W.	6	6	86	76	10	81	Fine sea-breeze.	
15	81	79	S.	2	3	85	83	S.	4	4	86	76	10	81	Fine but cloudy.	
16	81	79	S.	3	2	85	83	S.	5	2	86	76	10	81	Thunder at night.	
17	82	81	S.	3	2	85	84	S.	6	2	86	76	10	81	Depressing morning.	
18	79	77	W.	5	10	83	81	W.	4	4	86	74	12	80	Fine but dull morning.	
19	78	77	S.	3	8	80	79	S.	3	7	86	74	12	80	Cloudy, sea-breeze.	
20	81	80	S.	2	9	88	84	S.	3	3	86	74	12	80	Fine, fresh sea-breeze.	
21	77	77	S.	4	10	79	78	S.	3	3	86	75	13	80	Fine but cloudy.	
22	80	80	S.	3	5	84	82	S.	3	2	87	74	13	80	Fine, warm.	
23	81	80	S.	4	4	84	82	S.	4	4	86	74	12	80	Close cloudy morning.	
24	79	78	S.	4	9	80	79	S.	4	4	86	74	12	80	Cool sea-breeze.	
25	80	79	S.	1	1	82	82	S.	4	5	86	74	12	80	Cool morning.	
26	78	77	S.	2	8	81	79	S.	4	8	86	74	12	80	Thunderstorm.	
27	78	77	S.	2	2	83	82	S.	4	1	86	73	13	81	Cloudy morning.	
28	78	78	S.	2	2	83	82	S.	3	1	87	74	13	80	Fine morning.	
29	79	78	S.	2	2	83	82	S.	3	3	86	73	13	80	Cool fine evening.	
30	79	79	S.	1	1	84	84	S.	2	1	84	74	13	80	Cool morning.	
Mean	79.8	78.4	...	2.5	4.3	83.9	81.4	...	3.9	4.5	86.8	75.2	10.6	80.5		

(Signed)

ALBERT A. GORE, Surgeon-Major, Sanitary Officer.

## METEOROLOGICAL RETURNS FOR DECEMBER 1873.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 9 A.M. Local Time.			At 3 P.M. Local Time.			At 9 A.M. Local Time.			Rain fallen in previous 24 hours.	GENERAL REMARKS.
		Reading of Therm.	Wind by Direction.	Force 0 to 12.	Reading of Therm.	Wind by Direction.	Force 0 to 12.	Maximum in Air.	Minimum in Air.	Mean of Range of Temp.		
Mon.	1	78	78	W.	81	S.	1	85	73	12	Heavy rain.	Fine morning, rained heavily at night.
Tues.	2	78	77	W.	82	S.	1	83	73	10	Do.	Rained heavily at 5 P.M.
Wed.	3	78	77	S.	80	S.	1	83	75	8	...	Fine morning—sea-breeze.
Thur.	4	78	77	W.	79	W.	3	84	75	8	...	Fine day—sea-breeze.
Frid.	5	79	78	S.	83	S.	1	85	76	9	...	Clear morning—sea-breeze.
Sat.	6	79	78	S.	83	S.	1	86	73	13	...	Calm clear day.
Sun.	7	81	80	S.	83	S.	2	86	74	11	...	Very clear day—sea-breeze.
Mon.	8	80	79	W.	83	S.	4	86	76	9	...	Very close morning.
Tues.	9	80	79	W.	81	S.	3	85	76	9	...	Agreeable and cool sea-breeze.
Wed.	10	79	78	W.	84	S.	3	85	73	12	...	Sultry evening—strong sea-breeze.
Thur.	11	80	79	S.	83	S.	4	84	76	8	...	Strong sea-breeze.
Frid.	12	80	79	S.	84	S.	5	85	76	9	...	Very fine day.
Sat.	13	83	78	N.E.	84	S.	1	85	74	11	...	Heavy, close, cloudy, and burning—
Sun.	14	75	74	S.	81	W.	2	85	73	12	Heavy rain.	Heavy rain all day.
Mon.	15	79	78	S.	82	W.	3	84	76	8	...	Lightning during the night.
Tues.	16	79	78	S.	82	S.	4	84	76	12	...	Fine day—sea-breeze.
Wed.	17	80	79	S.	82	S.	3	84	76	12	...	Lightning during the night.
Thur.	18	80	79	S.	81	S.	4	86	75	11	...	Lightning during the night.
Frid.	19	78	77	S.	82	S.	3	86	73	4	...	Fine morning and afternoon.
Sat.	20	78	77	S.	81	S.	4	83	74	9	...	Fine morning—sea-breeze.
Sun.	21	78	77	S.	85	S.	1	86	75	11	...	Fine morning—sea-breeze.
Mon.	22	79	78	W.	84	S.	1	89	77	12	Rained at Sea.	Fine morning—rain at sea.
Tues.	23	79	78	S.	84	S.	3	89	77	12	...	Cloudy—sea-breeze.
Wed.	24	79	78	S.	83	S.	3	87	75	11	...	Fine—fresh breeze.
Thur.	25	79	78	W.	82	W.	2	86	74	13	Rained at Sea.	Fine—lightning at night.
Frid.	26	79	78	W.	82	W.	4	85	76	9	...	Fine day—sea-breeze.
Sat.	27	79	78	W.	83	W.	5	86	75	9	...	Fine, but sultry.
Sun.	28	79	78	S.	84	S.	3	86	77	10	...	Strong sea-breeze.
Mon.	29	78	77	S.	84	S.	4	85	75	11	...	Sultry morning—sea-breeze.
Tues.	30	78	76	W.	84	S.	3	86	75	10	...	Fine morning.
Wed.	31	78	75	S.	82	S.	4	82	75	7	...	Fine—sea-breeze.
Mean.		79	77.8	...	83.1	80.4	3.0	84.9	74.9	10.0	79.6	

(Signed) ALBERT A. GORE, Surgeon-Major, Sanitary Officer.

## TABLE OF ASHANTI GOLD WEIGHTS,

Furnished by Mr KUEHNE to the Writer.

	Names of the Weights.	Dakoo.	₹	oz.	₹
1	Sowafa, . . .	6	...	...	...
2	Tiasofa, . . .	6½	...	...	...
3	Dumafa, . . .	7	...	...	...
4	Borowufa, . . .	8	1 Dakoo.	...	...
5	Agarakwifa, . . .	9	1 1	...	...
6	Sowansafa, . . .	10	1 2	...	...
7	Bodomufa, . . .	11	1 3	...	...
8	Sowa, . . .	12	1 4	...	...
9	Jiaso, . . .	13	1 5	...	...
10	Duma, . . .	14	1 6	...	...
11	Borowu, . . .	16	2 0	...	...
12	Agarakwi, . . .	18	2 2	...	...
13	Sawansa, . . .	20	2 4	...	...
14	Bodomu, . . .	22	2 6	...	...
15	Namanu, . . .	24	3 0	...	...
16	Nsanu, . . .	26	3 2	...	...
17	Gduasuru, . . .	28	3 4	...	...
18	Ananfisuru, . . .	30	3 6	...	...
19	Aboumasuru, . . .	32	4 0	...	...
20	Suru, . . .	36	4 4	...	...
21	Peresuru, . . .	40	5 0	...	...
22	Takumansua, . . .	44	5 4	...	...
23	Esia, . . .	48	6 0	...	...
24	Gdua, . . .	56	7 0	...	...
25	Namfi, . . .	60	7 4	...	...
26	Nansua, . . .	64	8 0	...	...
27	Sua, . . .	72	9 0	...	...
28	Esuanu, . . .	...	...	1	2
29	Esuaasa, . . .	...	...	1	11
30	Pereguin, . . .	...	...	2	4
31	Tesuanu, . . .	...	...	3	6
32	Intaanu, . . .	...	...	4	8
33	Intaansu, . . .	...	...	6	12



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